

£.12

Blackwell
£ 12.00





BOARD OF EDUCATION
SOUTH KENSINGTON

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION
TO THE COLLECTION OF
ILLUMINATED
LETTERS AND BORDERS
IN THE NATIONAL ART LIBRARY
VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

BY

JOHN W. BRADLEY, B.A.

AUTHOR OF "A DICTIONARY OF MINIATURISTS," ETC.

LONDON

Printed for His Majesty's Stationery Office
By Eyre and Spottiswoode
Printers to the King's Most Excellent Majesty

And to be purchased, either directly or through any Bookseller, from
EYRE AND SPOTTISWOODE, EAST HARDING STREET, FLEET STREET, E.C.; or
OLIVER AND BOYD, EDINBURGH; or
E. PONSONBY, 116, GRAFTON STREET, DUBLIN.

1901.

Price Two Shillings and Sixpence.



BOARD OF EDUCATION

SOUTH KENSINGTON

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION
TO THE COLLECTION OF
ILLUMINATED
LETTERS AND BORDERS
IN THE NATIONAL ART LIBRARY
VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

BY

JOHN W. BRADLEY, B.A.

AUTHOR OF "A DICTIONARY OF MINIATURISTS," ETC.

LONDON

Printed for His Majesty's Stationery Office

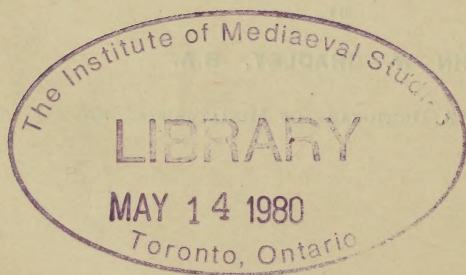
By Eyre and Spottiswoode

Printers to the King's Most Excellent Majesty

And to be purchased, either directly or through any Bookseller, from
EYRE AND SPOTTISWOODE, EAST HARDING STREET, FLEET STREET, E.C.; or
OLIVER AND BOYD, EDINBURGH; or
E. PONSONBY, 116, GRAFTON STREET, DUBLIN.

1901.

Price Two Shillings and Sixpence.



P R E F A C E

The collection, to which this volume forms an introduction, includes few complete MSS., and consists chiefly of pages, initials, and ornaments that have been removed from the volumes to which they belong. Most of these cuttings have been fully described by Mr. Bradley. His descriptions may be consulted by students in the library, and they are being used in the labelling of the works.

In the Introduction, Mr. Bradley constantly gives references to larger works on the subject, and to sets of reproductions in the library. These references are supplemented by a list of similar works, acquired since this volume has been in preparation. The illustrations are reproduced from originals in the collection, or from photographs specially made for the Museum.

G. H. P.

19th August 1901.

CONTENTS

	Page
PREFATORY REMARKS - - - - -	3
I. ILLUMINATION UNDER THE EARLY ROMAN EMPERORS -	7
II. APPLICATION OF ILLUMINATION TO CHRISTIAN ART -	12
III. BYZANTINE MINIATURE ART - - - - -	17
IV. CELTIC AND OTHER EARLY STYLES - - - - -	35
V. CAROLINGIAN ILLUMINATIONS - - - - -	54
VI. THE WINCHESTER SCHOOL, OR "OPUS ANGLICUM" -	78
APPENDIX ON HANDWRITINGS - - - - -	83
VII. OTHONIAN AND OTHER CONTEMPORARY MONASTIC WORK -	92
THE RISE OF GOTHIC ILLUMINATION - - - - -	105
VIII. FRENCH ILLUMINATION AND ITS OFFSHOOTS -	112
IX. GERMAN ILLUMINATION - - - - -	124
X. ITALIAN ILLUMINATION - - - - -	139
XI. ENGLISH ILLUMINATION - - - - -	154
XII. NETHERLANDISH ILLUMINATION - - - - -	163
XIII. ILLUMINATION SINCE THE INVENTION OF PRINTING -	171
LIST OF RECENT WORKS ON ILLUMINATION - - -	179

LIST OF PLATES

1. Gothic initial P. *French, 12th cent.*
2. Page from a Bible. *French (Artois), 14th cent.*
3. Page of a missal. *French (St. Denis, near Paris), c. 1400.*
4. Page of a book of hours. *French (Tours?), 15th cent.*
5. Page of a book of psalms and canticles. *German, 12th cent.*
6. Initial P. *German (Rhenish), c. 1280.*
7. Page from a choir-book. *German, c. 1380.*
8. Frontispiece from a choir-book. *German (Augsburg), 1494-95.*
9. Page of a missal. *Italian (Florence), 15th cent. (1st half).*
10. Page of a lectionary. *Italian, 15th cent.*
11. Page from a choir-book. *Italian (Florence), 15th cent.*
12. Page of Pliny: De naturali historia. *Italian, c. 1470.*
13. Altar-card attributed to G. Clovio. *Italian, c. 1550.*
14. 2 initials B in a Bible, Winchester Cathedral. } *English, 12th cent.*
15. Unfinished initial L, in same Bible as 14. } *(2nd half).*
16. Page of a service-book, Worcester Cathedral. *English, early 14th cent.*
17. Page from a choir-book. *Netherlandish (Zwolle?) c. 1400-1450.*
18. Page of a book of hours. *Netherlandish, 15th cent.*
19. Page from Livy: Historiarum decades, printed at Rome, 1469.

Pl. 1, 2, 6-8, 11, 17, 18 are reproduced from cuttings, and Pl. 3-5, 9, 10, 12, 18 from manuscripts in the National Art Library. The altar-card illustrated in Pl. 13 also belongs to the library. Pl. 14-16 are from official photographs.

ART OF ILLUMINATION

PREFATORY REMARKS

To attempt still another extended History of the Art of Illumination, while so many elaborate and in some cases richly illustrated treatises already exist in this very library, would here be quite superfluous. But as some notice must be considered necessary to connect and explain the numerous scattered examples which form the collection, this brief but systematic summary embracing the chief chronological, geographical, and technical facts which underlie the more expensive treatises has been written. Such a summary should not be without interest to the student, and should serve as a guide through a somewhat intricate and not very familiar department of art-history. Some of the examples in the collection will no doubt form excellent illustrations, while others, which may be necessary to the proper understanding or may add to the interest of the subject, can be referred to in the numerous illustrated works here accessible to the reader, or pointed out among the instances that have come under my own notice in British and foreign libraries.

As the library collection contains, almost exclusively, mediæval work, early or late, and such Renaissance examples as grew directly out of the Italian revival of classical taste, it will not be desirable to dwell minutely on the possible Miniature Art of Antiquity. At the same time the student should have the means of forming a tolerably precise idea of that portion of the subject. It is much to be regretted that greater accuracy has not been observed by writers who have dealt with this particular topic. Some speak loosely of illumination and illustration as if these things were one and the same, or as if illuminations were synonymous with miniatures, and, moreover, confound the latter with minute paintings in water-colours.

What is illumination? Let us, to begin with, point out very simply what it manifestly is not. The merest glance at an illuminated book will show that it is not simply illustration—that it means something more than pictures or ornaments however brightly coloured, and something different from ordinary drawing or painting, while at the same time it is an art exclusively pertaining to the ornamentation of books.

What then constitutes the difference ? The term itself does not seem to claim any very high antiquity ; it is by no means as old as the art to which it is applied, probably not older than the twelfth century.¹ But it had then a very definite and special meaning, and that meaning we are bound to adopt as our own, setting aside all later modifications brought about by changes of practice or application. Illumination, in the twelfth century, meant the "lighting up" of the page *with bright colours and burnished gold*. Later times, especially in Germany, gave the name of *Illuminirer* to the artist who coloured engravings, and occasionally heightened his work with pencil touches and hatchings of liquid gold ; and still later times have bestowed the name of limner on any one who painted in water-colours. But to define illumination as an art of painting in bright water-colours, would effectually mislead anyone who had never seen an example of the art. Such a definition might perhaps extend its antiquity but it would fail to describe its character. To be true illumination it must combine *the use of bright colours and precious metals*. In this essential it is intimately allied to heraldic blazon. As in the latter, the substitution of a colour for a metal becomes a solecism which evades one of its primary conditions of veracity, and reduces it to the ordinary category of a water-colour painting. Again, it follows, that miniature painting is not necessarily illumination though often loosely confounded with it. It has been repeatedly explained that the word miniature is derived from the use of minium, and has no further connexion with minishing as regards dimensions than the mere accident of its application.

In the present sense, however, of painting "in little," miniature painting is known to have existed from the remotest antiquity. We cannot imagine for a moment that the ancients, as we are accustomed to call the cultivated nations who existed before the Christian era, were incapable of forming the combination of colours and metals just referred to. Indeed there is a papyrus in the Louvre which actually presents almost the essential features of an illuminated MS., for it contains pictures (of funeral ceremonies) painted in bright colours, heightened with gold. An art which could be called illumination therefore was known many ages before it existed in Christian Europe,

¹ One of the earliest known notices of its use is in the Ecclesiastical History of Ordericus Vitalis (Book III.), where he speaks of a certain monk as "*præcipuus scriptor et librorum illuminator*." Ed. Le Prevost, p. 77. Ordericus died in 1143.

but as we should expect very much lower in its grade than that with which we are now concerned. At any rate the Louvre papyrus is at present the earliest example on record. Nor can we suppose it possible that throughout the long period of classical antiquity the art remained unknown, or that the later luxury of Athens and Corinth, of Pergamum, Ephesus and Cyzicus, of Rhodes, of Syracuse, Tarentum and Sybaris, of Pompeii and Rome would overlook so obvious a form of artistic culture as the production of magnificent copies of favourite authors or the perpetuation of the features of distinguished persons. Accordingly from time to time we have mention of some poem written in letters of gold, some collection of miniature portraits, some beautiful volume or *códex* of saffron-coloured, scarlet, or purple vellum, some cedar-scented and gilded gift-book prepared for Imperial acceptance, or destined to be laid up sacredly on the altar of the tutelary deity. But nothing of the veritable details of such books is definitely stated. Brief and vague or poetic hints are the most that we get from any ancient writers, and these often more by allusion than as a direct statement of fact. This is the sum of what antiquity has left us, for not one relic of these sumptuous and exceptional treasures has survived, like the Louvre papyrus, to tell its own tale of luxury and skill. The earliest name on record of any miniature artist is that of a lady, the celebrated Lala of Cyzicus, who is said to have executed the enormous number of 700 portraits for Varro's *Hebdomades*, a work of which we have a short notice in the Natural History of Pliny. In the time of Augustus she was a person of mature age, and had acquired a reputation for the skilful manner in which she painted portraits, especially of ladies, on ivory. Among the relics of the buried Campanian cities there is in the Museum at Naples a picture which may well be considered as one of the most curious in that curious collection. It represents a lady engaged in painting a Hermes-like statuette of the Indian Bacchus. The execution of this tempera painting is most delicate and charming; the draperies are of pale violet and yellow, and the tender colouring is only surpassed by the graceful drawing. The attitude of the lady as she contemplates her unfinished work is most natural, unaffected, and perfect. Two other ladies are looking on from behind, and a little *amoretto* holding a small picture is leaning on the base of the statuette. The interest of the scene is increased for us by the information that in this artist we see the portrait of Lala herself. She had a name not only for skill but for

rapidity; as Pliny says, "no one surpassed her in facility of hand."¹ We know nothing more of Lala than that she painted on ivory and vellum; that she was engaged by M. Terentius Varro to execute the portraits for his Biographies, and that her works obtained higher prices than those of Sopolis and Dionysius, famous Greek painters established like herself in Rome, and similarly engaged in painting portraits. Varro had discovered a process by which outlines could be reproduced mechanically—a process alluded to by Pliny as *inventum Varronis*—but whether it involved tracing, engraving, or stencilling, cannot be decided owing to the vague manner in which it is referred to.² It was communicated by Varro to Lala, and the portraits of the *Hebdomades* were repeated by it. We are also told that Lala by her skill in colouring endowed them with the charm of reality. Once known to the miniaturist, it is not likely that the secret would be allowed to die out; on the other hand, it is probable that the traditional process is alluded to in a letter written more than eight centuries afterwards by Loup or Lupus, abbot of Ferrières, to Eginhard, the biographer of Charles the Great. Eginhard died in 839. In this letter Lupus says: "The 'scriptor regius' Berchtold is said to possess the measure laid down of antique letters, at least, of those which are very large, and which some call uncials. Send it to me, I beg, if within your power, by this painter on his return, but take care that the packet is carefully sealed." It is just possible that the *inventum Varronis* was a secret kept in the profession, and unknown to those outside. The painters' guilds, of the Low Countries especially, were very strict in the maintenance of their craft secrets, and they certainly had means of reproducing both letters and miniature outlines more expeditious than that of ordinary drawing.

It may seem a remarkable fact that of all the volumes executed in Imperial times, not one Roman illuminated book should have survived. Either we must hope that something of the kind still remains to be discovered, or we must suppose that possibly some other form of gift-book was preferred, and that it is not to illuminated MSS. but perhaps to ivory diptychs that we must look for the fashionable keepsakes of the last days of Imperial Rome. But however this may be, it is a fact that no sample of an illuminated or even of an illustrated book is known that can be dated much earlier than the fourth century.

¹ The picture here referred to is given in outline by H. Roux aîné, *Herculaneum et Pompéï*, II, pl. 11, p. 43.

² See CREUZER, *Die Bildpersonalien des Varro*. (*In Zeitschrift für Alterthumswissenschaft*, 1843.)

I

ILLUMINATION AS IT PROBABLY EXISTED UNDER THE
EARLY ROMAN EMPERORS.

The oldest of surviving codices containing pictures is said to be one of two copies of Vergil preserved in the Vatican Library.

These two MSS. are numbered 3225 and 3867. The facsimiles of the careful Palæographical Society place the latter first, and doubtfully assign it to the third or fourth century. Most other authorities consider it to be about a century the later of the two, and some suggest that from certain indications in its technical features, and traits of costume, it may even be a twelfth century copy of a genuine Roman original. But apart from this, both MSS. belong to a period of decline, and the former contains the better work. Whichever may be the older, these two codices are our first landmarks. No. 3225 is really a small fragment of the whole work, consisting merely of parts of Books III and IV of the Georgics and of III to VIII of the *Æneid*. Nominally it contains 50 miniatures, but five of them are now almost effaced. It is written on 76 leaves of fine vellum, $8\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ inches square, with 21 lines to the page. Once the codex belonged to Cardinal Pietro Bembo, and this is the first trace of its history. Afterwards it passed into the hands of Gioviano Pontano, and thence to those of Fulvio Orsini, who presented it in a cedar box to the Vatican Library.¹ Orsini died in 1600. About 1625 the Roman antiquary and engraver, Pietro Santi Bartoli, at the instance and cost of Cardinal Camillo de' Massimi, made drawings of the miniatures, but so *improved* and altered them that his engravings from the drawings are, from an antiquarian point of view, almost valueless. They were published in 1677. In 1725 he issued what he calls a second edition, with the addition, to complete the series, of five subjects from MS. 3867. Another edition with further re-touchings of the plates was put forth in 1741 by Bottari. From the engraver's standpoint this is said to be the best. Here, therefore, we may leave this so-called reproduction. The drawings made by Bartoli, which are certainly clever and interesting, but by no means facsimiles of the originals, are now in the British Museum (Lansdowne MS. 834). In the same Library also is an excellent fac-

¹ GIOV. BELTRANI, *I Libri di Fulvio Orsini nella Biblioteca Vaticana*, f. 25.

simile (Egerton MS. 2349) of one of the original miniatures made by Mrs. Lane Conolly, of Rome.

The handwriting in Vatican MS. 3225 is in small rustic capitals, much smaller than those of 3867, being only about $\frac{3}{16}$ of an inch in height. The first three lines of each book are in red. "The miniatures of this volume are some of the best and most interesting specimens of ancient painting which have come down to us. The design is free and the colours applied with good effect, the whole presenting classical art in the period of decline, but before its final debasement." Such was the opinion of Sir M. Digby Wyatt, who saw the MS. in 1846. He adds (*Art of Illuminating*, 1860, p. 5): "The colours are applied with a free brush, and apparently in the true antique manner, *i.e.*, with scarcely any previous or finishing outline."

Of the five lost or vanishing miniatures, one was effaced before the time of Bartoli, and Mai calls attention to others, of which four have now almost entirely scaled off the vellum. For further notes on this interesting MS. the reader may consult Labarte, *Hist. des Arts Industriels*, 2^e éd., II, 158; Seroux d'Agincourt, *Hist. de l'Art par les Monuments*, III; Woltmann and Woermann, *History of Painting*, I, 102.¹ Facsimiles of the pictures are attempted by Angelo Mai in *Virgilii picturae antiquae*, Rome, 1835.

The other Vergil (Vat. Lat. 3867) is, as already stated, doubtfully assigned by the Palæographical Society to the third or fourth century, though, as we have said, several other authorities incline to a later date. The codex contains the Bucolics, Georgics, and Æneid except a few leaves and is written on 309 leaves of vellum, $13\frac{1}{2} \times 12\frac{1}{4}$ inches square, with 18 lines to the page.

The writing, on which chiefly the judgment as to its antiquity is based, is large, much larger than that of 3225, and of the kind called rustic capitals,² with no separation of the words. It is such as is seen on the walls of Pompeii but used by copyists of MSS. for at least two centuries after the date of those inscriptions. To distinguish it from the MS. 3225, which is known as the *Codex Vaticanus*,³ 3867 is called the *Codex Romanus*. An inscription of the thirteenth century on one of its pages,

¹ And S. BEISSEL, *Vaticanische Miniaturen*. Freiburg im Breisgau, 1893, pp. 1-6, pl. I, II.

² See Table of Classification of Handwritings on pp. 87-91 of the present volume.

³ Or *Palatinus*. See E. M. THOMPSON, *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography*. London, 1893, pp. 187-189.

reproduced by Seroux d'Agincourt, seems to indicate that it then belonged to the Abbey of S. Denis near Paris. The text begins with three lines in red, a custom long continued by the copyists, and the prologue and colophon have red lines among the black. The running titles also are red. This use of red ink or paint for headings and initial letters, as already hinted, was what at first was called miniature; it was afterwards known as rubrication, while the original designation was transferred to the ornamentation, and after the introduction of small pictorial scenes or vignettes into the letters and borders was further extended to include them also. Lastly, becoming confused with some notion of littleness introduced by the French term *mignature*, it is now popularly understood to mean pictures of small dimensions, and more especially portraits, or the art of painting them. It may be that the red employed in the Vergil codex is not minium, but cinnabar, and very good of its kind, for it still retains its redness. But the same name of minium is often applied to both. The MS. contains 19 miniatures, some filling the entire page, others narrow as to height, extend quite across the width. Each picture is enclosed in a frame of red and gold. The style of art is still classical, but much debased, and probably, though belonging to a period of decadence, not representative of the best of its time. In execution the work is rough, the drawing feeble and inaccurate, the painting harsh. It is of the kind called *gouache* or tempera, *i.e.*, the colours are laid on thickly in successive layers applied with yolk, or white, of egg diluted with fig-tree sap, and finished with pencillings of liquid gold. So far as photography can give an idea of their appearance the two facsimiles of the Palæographical Society may be trusted for fidelity to line and brushmark, but unhappily the chief features of illumination, colour, and metal are precisely those which are absent. Labarte and others have attempted facsimiles in colour, but with indifferent success. Seroux d'Agincourt's outlines, though, or perhaps because, rough and sketchy, give a more correct idea of the originals than the elaborate engravings of Bartoli. Labarte (2^e éd., II, 158), describes both MSS.; he considers 3225 to be the more ancient by a century. Many other writers have referred to them, the majority of whom are cited in the prefaces to the editions of 1741, 1763; and in the Roman edition of Winckelmann's *Storia delle Arti del Disegno presso gli Antichi*, II, 408.

The Palaeographical Society's facsimiles, though unsatisfactory for the miniatures, yet as records of the hand-writings are excellent and the descriptions of plates 114 and 117 supplement the defects of the facsimiles and descriptions of the rest. To realise the character of these important examples of classical painting the student should consult the descriptions and reproductions.

Our plan, in this Introduction, of reference to existing authorities dispenses with such detail as does not refer to cardinal points, necessary facts, or typical examples; hence we need not for the most part do more than point out what to study or where to obtain the necessary information. Our main business is to ascertain clearly the salient features of each period or so-called style as exhibited in some special example, and to notice how they agree with or differ from those of the rest. Thus by grouping and classification we may at length be able fully to grasp the subject. Of the remaining examples of old Roman art, the number may be counted on the fingers. Whether owing to the devastation caused by constant wars, or the overflow of barbarism, or the fluctuation of public taste and fashion, the period from Constantine to Justinian, including, as it does, the portentous event called the Fall of the Western Empire, although by no means destitute of the creations of art, and even rich in basilicas, mosaics, and articles of jewellery and personal decoration, has left no great legacy of pictorial art. Literature was far from neglected. The pens of the theologian, the annalist, and the poet were constantly active, and some of the world's heirlooms have descended from these very years. Eusebius, Cyril, the two Gregories of Nazianzus and Nyssa, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Chrysostom, and Hilary present no mean array of churchmen; Aurelius Victor, Julian, Ammianus still shine somewhat as historians, and Claudian, Sidonius Apollinaris, and Avitus show at least the dying efforts of classic versification; while Macrobius, Priscian, and Boethius swell but do not complete the list of unforgotten names in other departments of literature. Yet this busy period has scarcely bequeathed us the smallest shelf load of illustrated MSS. Just six fragments of codices represent the miniature wealth of two hundred years—the two centuries that lie between A.D. 330, when Byzantium became the city of Constantine, and 530, when Justinian published his famous code, and Benedict of Nursia founded his first monastic brotherhood at Monte Cassino.

Among these fragments the next in date and importance to the Vatican Vergils, is undoubtedly the Ambrosian Homer, so called because it belongs to the Ambrosian Library at Milan. A description of it, with facsimiles of its miniatures, was published at Milan in 1819 by the then Prefect of the library, Dr. Angelo Mai, afterwards Cardinal, and Librarian of the Vatican. The title of the work is: *Iliadis fragmenta antiquissima cum picturis* (Mediolani, 1819). The facsimiles are very much superior to those of the Bartoli Vergils. They are perhaps a little too sketchy, but they indicate very faithfully the defects of the original drawings. The style of the latter is undoubtedly antique, with the stern or dignified expression, well-rounded limbs, and graceful proportions of classic art. The subjects show the sources of the Vergil pictures of Vat. 3225, more especially in the battle scenes; plates XLII and LI are among the best. The original MS. is written on 60 leaves of vellum of quarto size, in one of the most beautiful handwritings possible, but more like the work of a Greek copyist. The leaves, with the exception of two, contain a picture each. On the back of each when first discovered, was pasted a sheet of paper containing writing in a much larger hand. When this was removed there was disclosed the much mutilated but perfectly beautiful text of the poem, indicating the period of its execution to be about the end of the fourth century. No miniatures remain for Books III, XVII, XIX, and XXI, nor is the text more than a fragment of some 800 verses. In the technical execution certain fixed rules or canons appear to have been followed, which remind the student of the rules of the Byzantine "Guide" of the monk Dionysius. Thus Zeus is always painted red and Venus fair. Zeus has yellow sandals, Venus wears a white peplos, a yellow tunic and a crimson stole, and river gods accompany the scenes. The colours used are very varied. Mai gives a list of them.

Hitherto while we have seen in these præ-Christian MSS. a certain execution and technic that might in a sense entitle them to be classed as illuminations, no sign appears of that additional ornament which is so characteristic of mediæval examples. The first existing codex which attempts any decoration beyond the pictures is a Roman calendar in the Imperial Library at Vienna, attributed to the fourth century. It contains eight symbolical figures of the months of very skilful Roman execution, and a distinct attempt at additional ornamental embellishment.

II

THE APPLICATION OF ILLUMINATION TO CHRISTIAN ART.

We now leave these interesting relics of paganism to enter upon the continuous theme of their succession, through the centuries of Christian Europe. In fact the beginnings of Christian Art are in no way distinguishable from the pagan art which preceded them. It is one connected chain of processes and methods, the only change being in the subjects and symbolism attaching to the new order of ideas. Henceforward for many centuries we shall find by far the majority of illuminated books to be either theological or liturgical or such as were intended for presentation to religious houses. And, as probably had been the case from time immemorial, it was the practice whenever the contents were the same, for the subjects assigned to the artist to be fixed according to some well-known universal rule. Very rarely indeed is any copy of a well-known or popular book found to contain, individually, pictures original in either subject or composition.

The earliest example of Christian book illustration is a Greek manuscript, containing fragments of the Book of Genesis, now in the Imperial Library at Vienna. It consists of 26 leaves of purple vellum, and contains no fewer than 88 pictures. The text is nearly all written in gold and silver inks, now considerably tarnished, yet still retaining some of their ancient splendour. It indicates progress towards a richer kind of decoration than the Vergils and Homers of the preceding century. Being Greek, however, its miniatures, according to early Byzantine usage, are set in square frames without exterior enrichment. As to the painting, there is not much to be said. It is wanting in solidity and finish, though not without a certain technical facility showing it to be the work of a practised and probably professional miniaturist. There is also a laic appreciation of the nude, and of the true forms of trees and animals, as contrasted with the enforced ignorance of later monastic work. Allegorical figures still accompany and explain the intention of the scene, a feature which appears in the catacombs as continued from classic art, and is prolonged throughout all Byzantine miniatures, surviving in the more strictly religious class of pictures, even in Western illumination, to the end of the fifteenth century. The student may find outlines

of 13 of the subjects in Seroux d'Agincourt (*Peintures*, v, pl. 19). A good account of the whole, with engravings of all the miniatures, was given by Lambecius in his *Commentaries on the Vienna Library*.¹ They were republished by D. de Nessel,² and again in Book III of Kollaris' 2nd edition of *Lambecius*.³ It is noticed by other writers, as by Dibdin, *A Bibliographical, Antiquarian, and Picturesque Tour*, 2 ed., III, 289. These may be compared with the coloured facsimiles in Westwood⁴ and Labarte.⁵ There are reproductions from photographs in Garrucci,⁶ but they have the fault, common to the whole work, of hasty and imperfect execution. The best account of the whole, accompanied by excellent reproductions in phototype, has just been published by W. von Hartel and F. Wickhoff.⁷

Another Genesis codex, once a truly splendid MS., but now a shrivelled fragment, is kept in the British Museum (Cott. Otho B. vi.). Originally it possessed 250 miniatures on 165 leaves of vellum. It is supposed to be of the same age as the Vienna Genesis, or perhaps somewhat older. T. H. Horne calls it the most ancient and most correct text of the Book of Genesis extant.⁸ Waagen gives a brief notice of it also,⁹ and of course there is an account of it in the Cottonian Catalogue,¹⁰ and yet another in the *Vetusta Monumenta* of the Society of Antiquaries.¹¹

The next of these early MSS., which we cannot omit, is a collection of Treatises on Botany, Hunting, Fishing, etc., by several Greek physicians, called after its principal author and present location, the Vienna "Dioscorides." This is really the oldest MS. in which the decoration is of sufficient importance to take rank beside the figures. The principal part of the volume is taken up, however, with drawings of plants, animals, birds, fishes, etc., in illustration of the various treatises it contains. It dates from the

¹ PETRI LAMBECII *Commentariorum de Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi*, lib. iii, p. 2. Vindobonae, 1670.

² *Catalogus, sine recensio specialis omnium Codicum MSS. Graecorum Bibliothecae Caesariae Vindobonensis*, I, 55-102. Vindobonae, 1690.

³ Vindobonæ, 1766-82.

⁴ *Palaeographia Sacra Pictoria*, pl. 4. London, 1843-45.

⁵ *Les Arts Industriels, etc.*, III, 17; 2^e ed., pl. 77.

⁶ *Storia della Arte Cristiana nei primi otto secoli della Chiesa*, II, pl. 112-123. Prato, 1876.

⁷ *Die Wiener Genesis*. Wien, 1894-95.

⁸ *Introduction to the critical study, etc. of the Holy Scriptures*, 8 ed., vol. II, pt. I, p. 104. London, 1839.

⁹ *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, I, 97. London, 1854.

¹⁰ *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library*, 1802, p. 365.

¹¹ *Vetusta Monumenta*, I, pl. lxvii. and lxviii. Londini, 1747.

commencement of the sixth century, A.D. 505. The first six or seven folios are especially noticeable. A description of its miniatures and supposed origin, together with an account of the Princess Juliana Anicia, for whom it was executed, is given by Lambecius in the Commentaries already mentioned¹, and again by Montfaucon², with engraved facsimiles. Labarte gives a coloured reproduction,³ Louandre gives two,⁴ and recent works repeat them or give others.

Another famous sixth century fragment some forty years later than the Dioscorides, is a Bible once belonging to the monastery of Montamiata in Tuscany, and now in the Laurentian Library at Florence. Examples of its miniatures are given by Garrucci.⁵

We have now in the enumeration of these examples of early art reached the sixth century, and we have to observe that no new element of style has been introduced, so that they are purely representative of Roman painting as practised in centuries that were being rapidly exhausted of artistic culture. They were not times of prosperity, and such means as men had were expended of necessity on the security rather than on the embellishment of life. It was only in the more settled localities, in cities where the government was tolerably stable and property fairly safe from depredation that men would venture to lay out their wealth on the superfluous gratifications of luxury and taste. Hence only under the rule of princes like Theodoric the Ostrogoth in the West, or of Anastasius and his immediate successors in Constantinople, or in those favoured localities where the Church could exert her conciliatory and tutelary influence, do we meet with the erection of splendid edifices and the execution of costly monuments of art. Such things are substantial proofs of the mutual confidence of mankind, and of the enjoyment of many things beyond the bare necessities of existence. The MSS. already mentioned are all monuments of declining taste. In the reign of Nero we know from the coinage, without any appeal to the historian, that art of the highest class was known and appreciated. We know also that it was still flourishing under the Antonines. But if sculpture and bronzes still remained fine and masterly, painting, even in the time of Vespasian,

¹ II, 519-608.

² *Palaographia Graeca*. Parisiis, 1708.

³ Pl. 78.

⁴ *Les Arts Somptuaires, etc.*, I, pl. 2, 3. Paris, 1852.

⁵ Pl. 126, 127. See also UNGER, *Christlich-Griechische oder Byzantinische Kunst*, in ERSCH and GRUBER'S *Allgemeine Encyclopädie*.

was considered to be a dying art, which had descended to the mere decoration of apartments. The landscape painting which Ludius and others had once made the basis of these mural embellishments, with its villas, porticoes, groves, cascades, and seaports and every variety of mythological or imaginative incident, and of innocent caricature, had degenerated into satyric orgies or equivocal trivialities, in which, too frequently, refinement and decency were equally forgotten. The execution, too, had become slight and hasty, the colours crude, and the perspective utterly neglected, until, indeed, the work was nothing but a mere hash of gaudy vulgarity, left to the hurried performance of ordinary household slaves. By the time of Constantine the Augustan arabesques and Vitruvian severity had alike disappeared, and although a certain echo of former skill in figure painting still lingered, even that was fading out. All that remained was the mechanical technic of the atelier inherited without the genius, yet here and there as in the Cottonian Genesis and the Ambrosian Iliad, with a shadowy reminiscence of style, suggesting the once masterly art of which these copies are distant and degenerate imitations.

CHARACTERISTICS OF CLASSICAL AND EARLY CHRISTIAN MINIATURE ART.

FIGURE.—In the Homer, well formed and athletic. Draperies with good folds and movements. Single forms often statuesque or awkward, as if meant for sculptural rather than pictorial grouping. Some examples, as the Vergils, show short heavy figures and expressionless faces, indicating the decline of art.

LANDSCAPE AND BACKGROUND.—In the older examples, natural and pleasing, with trees, water, rocks, etc., studied from nature. In later work, formal imitations of preceding models, followed without actual study of Nature. In some instances mere backgrounds like the scene-paintings of a theatre, or as in Pompeian wall-paintings.

ORNAMENT.—In the earlier examples, entirely or almost entirely wanting. Appears timidly in the *Codex Romanus* Vergil, more definitely in the Vienna Roman Calendar, and still more fully developed in the Dioscorides.

TECHNIC.—Little or no visible outline. The brush-work broad and decided, and applied in successive layers, dried between each application, in a kind of body colour called “tempera,” or in the thick wash technically called “gouache.” The vehicle probably cherry-tree or other gum, or white and yolk of egg, together or separate, beaten to a cream and diluted with the sap of the fig-tree. Liquid gold used sometimes as a high light, or to enrich the ornamentation.

MANUSCRIPTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF CLASSICAL OR EARLY CHRISTIAN MINIATURE ART.

No.	Name.	Location.	Date.	Remarks.
1	Vergil fragment.	Vatican Library, Rome, Cod. Vat. no. 3225.	3rd or 4th cent.	It is a question which of these two MSS. is the older; both, however, are as old as the 4th cent.
2	Vergil.	Vatican Libr., Cod. Rom. no. 3867.	4th cent.	
3	Roman Calendar fragment.	Imp. Libr., Vienna.	„ „	
4	Genesis fragment.	„ „	5th cent.	Contains traces of ornament. Gold and silver text on purple vellum, and 48 miniatures.
5	„ „	Brit. Mus., Cotton. Otho B. vi.	„ „	Mostly burnt in 1731.
6	Iliad fragment.	Ambros. Libr., Milan.	„ „	Beautiful handwriting and spirited pictures.
7	Joshua roll fragment.	Vatican Libr., Rome.		Contains 15 leaves, 32 ft. long, 11 in. wide. From ch. ii, 22 to ch. x, 26. Pictures outlined with brush. Antique costumes; rivers, etc., personified. Joshua with nimbus.
8	Dioscorides, etc.	Imp. Libr., Vienna.	c. 505.	See p. 13.
9	Latin Bible of Mont-amata.	Laurentian Libr., Florence.	c. 540.	Work poor, and in bad preservation.
10	Syriac Gospels.	„ „	c. 586.	Executed at Zagba in Mesopotamia, and came in 1497 into this library. (See Byzant. MSS.)
11	Terence.	Vatican Libr., Rome.		
12	„	Nat. Libr., Paris.	9th cent.	A ninth cent. copy of a 4th or 5th cent. MS., contains portrait of author and pen-drawings.
13	Pentateuch of Tours.	Nat. Libr., Paris, nouv. acquis. 2334.	7th cent.	Called also the Ashburnham Pentateuch; contains 19 large miniatures. See description

in DELISLE, *Catal. des MSS. des Fonds Libri et Barrois*, pp. 1-3. Paris, 1888; the detailed notice by Dr. O. von Gebhardt, with reproductions in photo type and chromo-lithography (*The miniatures of the Ashburnham Pentateuch*. London, 1883), and the Palæogr. Soc. publications, 234-5.

III

BYZANTINE MINIATURE ART.

By the commencement of the period known as the Age of Justinian, Christian Art had undergone many vicissitudes, but neither had architecture perished nor the lesser arts been quite forgotten. On the other hand, the latter had lapsed into those channels which subserve mere individual luxury, an indulgence from which even the austere Emperor himself did not escape. The description of his royal apparel is almost startling in its enumeration of magnificent and costly garments. But his master passion, like that of Basil the Macedonian, the founder of the 2nd Byzantine Revival, was towards building. In 532, six years after his accession, the terrible sedition of the Circus well-nigh destroyed his capital. The Imperial Palace itself and the great Basilica of Constantine were almost totally ruined by fire. The re-constructions, begun from necessity, were continued from the hitherto repressed passion for splendour, and Justinian, seizing so excellent an opportunity, found himself endowed with unlimited means to carry out his long-cherished schemes, for he had inherited the hoarded wealth of his two most parsimonious predecessors, Anastasius and Justin. Nothing could exceed the splendour of his preparations. The whole earth was laid under contribution for whatever could add to the magnificence of his vast undertaking. The construction of Church and Palace went on simultaneously under the ablest architects that could be found, and in due time the former was sufficiently complete for a grand opening service. The description of an eye witness tells us of its costly marbles, its gold and silver lamps and furniture, its countless censers, and candelabra glittering with gems. It tells how the noblest mosaics encrusted the walls, how the domes and vaults were painted in encaustic, the capitals of the innumerable columns gilded, and the great cupola enriched with pictures in gold and coloured mosaic; how every painting had a ground of burnished gold, and every pavement glistened with the most exquisitely fitted slabs of polished marbles. The same witness affirms that all the candelabra and sacred vessels, patens, chalices, and ciboria were of purest beaten gold. Six thousand candlesticks of gold were among the furniture, and seven crosses of solid gold,

each weighing a quintal, stood in various parts of the building. The verses of Paul the Silentiary go on to say that, what with the lamps swinging in chains of brass from the roofs and the candelabra beneath standing upon the floor, the lamps seemed to be floating in an ocean of fire. Such, as vividly described at length in the poem of the Silentiary and in the elaborate essay of Du Fresne, was this new Basilica of the Divine Wisdom, the building which, passing through the hands of Anthemios of Tralles, Isidore of Miletus, and the Oriental artists employed upon it, transformed the Roman art of Constantinople into a new style henceforward to be called Byzantine.

Even under Constantine the New Rome had been decorated with the spoils both of East and West; and through the constant additions of beautiful architecture in churches, baths, and palaces, all enriched with pictures, mosaics, bas-reliefs, and statuary, it had become the most attractive city in the whole Roman Empire. The industrial and sumptuary arts were largely cultivated, and the Byzantine manufactures of jewellery and silken tissues became famous throughout Christendom. Like the Persians the later Greek artists were noted for every variety of design in flowers, animals, and scenes from field sports and domestic history. Anastasius the Librarian says with some fervour: "On a tunic or a mantle might be counted as many as 600 figures." Similar facts caused St. Asterius, A.D. 400, to remark in his Homily on the Rich Man and Lazarus: "The dresses of these effeminate Christians were painted like the walls of their houses." They aimed at possessing beds, coffers, and vases of brass, ebony, ivory, silver; and gold.

It is no wonder that with such an example before their eyes, and such models, the calligraphists and illuminators of books found congenial occupation. For some time the impetus was irresistible, and works of unrivalled splendour were executed for use in the basilica and palace. When Justinian, years before, wrote to thank the eastern-born pope Hormisdas for his zeal in suppressing the Eutychian and Manichean heresies, he had sent him a present of a large Book of the Gospels, decorated in the richest style of Græco-Roman art. And now the Gospel books became richer still, although tablets of beaten gold set with precious gems had formed the covers of that costly present. Such art had now become fashionable, and was encouraged by the most lavish patronage. Artists could afford to send for their materials to the far East, and throughout the

southern shores of Europe. Minium of peerless brilliancy was brought from India and Spain, lapis lazuli from Persia and Bokhara. The famous Byzantine gold ink was manufactured at home from the purest Oriental gold.

Illumination, as restored with all these fresh advantages of example and wealth, became practically almost a new art. In the bygone days of Constantine and Theodosius the great features of calligraphy had been the gold and silver inks, and vellum finely stained with rose or scarlet or purple dye. Under Justinian the precious inks were still continued, but far richer ornamentation than the staining of the vellum was added. St. Jerome once complained of the waste in such expensive luxuries, yet only as a part of the general extravagance of his time.

It is just possible that we have an example of the period when the Dome of Anthemios was uninjured, in the two mutilated leaves of a Gospel-book now preserved in the British Museum. If indeed they came to us from Rome rather than Byzantium, or if claimed as simply Greek in their style, we may feel sure that the artist had had access to such models as had produced the Gospel-book of Hormisdas, if not to that very volume.

Religious books had been among the objects of what St. Jerome thought useless luxury, as early as the fourth century, and during the time that to us is apparently such a desert. "All our admiration nowadays," complains St. John Chrysostom, writing in the reign of Arcadius, "is kept for goldsmiths and weavers." Before the end of the fifth century the public taste, thanks to the inroads of foreign luxury, had become considerably enlarged. Others, besides goldsmiths and weavers, certainly shared the admiration of the wealthy. Those Persian decorators whom the liberality of Justinian had attracted to Byzantium speedily stimulated the large fraternity of Greek calligraphists to unheard of efforts in imitation of the splendid furnishings of the new edifices. Books of luxury began to reflect with no sparing fidelity the gorgeous features of arcade and cupola; and the jewelled tympanum with golden background was transferred to the Gospel-book, the sacred History, and the Homiliarium.

It will be necessary in examining the various styles of illuminating about to come under our notice to bear in mind one constant and universal fact—that the art both in the miniatures and ornaments is always the direct mirror of its contemporary architecture, and indirectly of the minor ancillary arts which happen to be practised at the

time. Even transient or merely fashionable usages are often recorded in the pages of the MSS. Again, whilst we make use of dates given us by political history, and of the limits of geographical areas, we need never be far wrong in our estimate if we can attach to the illumination the style of architecture practised in the locality of its production, and especially if we can decipher such minor embellishments as local and contemporary taste have made the momentary fashion. At one time it is the architecture itself with its columns, capitals, arches, and friezes that is the subject of background or border decoration; at another, utensils and furniture; at another, objects of personal adornment. During the central Gothic period almost all the ornament was obtained from the field, the garden, or the forest.

These, however, are generalizations which do not aid us greatly until we can apply them to time and place. Meantime we may store them as impressions to prepare the way to knowledge, of which time and place are, as a rule, necessary elements. Time and place *focus* objects of study, and by clearing them to the sight give form and precision to our ideas, in short, permit us to know what otherwise we could only conjecture. We may sometimes profitably study good undated work in anticipation of finding at some future time the clue to the date and locality of its origin, but only good work is worth the trouble. The better it is, the likelier it is of recognition. Bad work is beset with difficulties and uncertainties of every kind.

It is time, however, to apply these remarks to practice. We have described generally the principal features of Byzantine art, but since it is a subject on which all professional writers are not agreed, as to extent and detail, we must for the sake of clearness and consistency state more precisely what we mean by it, and then briefly describe one or two examples of its best period. Byzantine art is not Greek art, but Roman art practised at Constantinople, and dispersed thence to other localities. That is, it is not the direct lineal descendant of Greek occupying the ancestral territory. It is Roman art transplanted and embodying whatever Greek and Oriental additions have been engrafted upon it in its new soil. It is not the art introduced or propagated by Constantine or his immediate successors. It is the art which dates from the New Basilica of Santa Sophia and the many-sided artistic tastes of Justinian. Denuded of its Oriental trappings, in the abstract it is the union of Greek æsthetic with Christian moral.

Much controversy has been wasted on the limitation of this style and the distinction between Byzantine and Romanesque. In matters of detail the distinction, considering the origin of the two styles, is naturally exceedingly slight, but the student may always keep clear the main structural difference that while the Romanesque dome (the dome is not a specially Byzantine feature) rests on a mural cylinder, the Byzantine is supported on pillared arches.

Our business, however, is not with buildings but with books. Of the earlier years no certain example is known. The first dated MS. with pictures comes near the end of the sixth century (586). This is the Syriac Gospel-book known as the Rabula MS., now in the Laurentian Library at Florence.¹ It presents several features common to all MSS. of the Byzantine style, but the best typical examples are much later, and are found not in Greece or Syria, but in the libraries of Western Europe. The work of the sixth and seventh centuries which does exist belongs to quite different styles of art which we shall refer to hereafter.

Examples of the first period of Byzantine miniature are exceedingly rare. The earliest in this country is a fragment in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 5111), consisting of two leaves of a Gospel-book, and containing a part of the oft-repeated Canons of Eusebius,² and part of the letter to Carpianus; these are on good authority assigned to the sixth century. As to canons and their arcades, this MS. may be compared with the Rabula Gospels of the Laurentian Library.³ It is probable that the very rare examples of this early date, found so far apart as Syria and Britain, were carried to their destination by Christian missionaries. It is expressly mentioned, in the case of some, Augustine of Canterbury for instance, that they brought with them books of wonderful beauty. These books formed a basis of study for native artists, and are doubtless answerable for the introductions into native work of such features

¹ The miniatures of this Gospel-book, twenty-six in number, are engraved in S. E. ASSEMANI, *Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae . . . codicum MS. orientalium catalogus*. Florentiae, 1743; one of them, the Miracle of Bethesda, is reproduced in chromolithography in WESTWOOD, *Palaeographia sacra pictoria*, pl. 6. London, 1843-45.

² The Canons are synoptical tables of the contents of the four Gospels placed side by side for convenience, and almost always made ornamental by being enclosed beneath canopies or arcades of architectonic design on grounds of burnished gold.

³ Reproductions in chromolithography are given in H. SHAW, *Illuminated Ornaments selected from Manuscripts*, pl. 1 to 4. London, 1833; and in autotype in THOMPSON and WARNER, *Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts in the British Museum*, part I, pl. 11. London, 1881.

as are recognisable in illumination executed in countries far distant from their source. Another of the innumerable instances of the ornamental treatment of the Eusebian Canons is found in Royal MS. 1 E. VI, Brit. Mus.¹ In the ninth and tenth centuries occur others, copied in all probability from earlier examples. In Greece itself the art began to decline immediately after the death of Justinian, and it is generally supposed that the edicts of Leo III., the Isaurian (718-741), surnamed the Iconoclast, put an end to the practice of pictorial art. Mere linear and floral ornament, however, such as we see in Persian fabrics, and in Arabesques, was still permitted. Leo caused the library founded by Constantine, and augmented by Theodosius and Justinian, which contained the famous Homer written in gold letters, the masterpiece of ancient chrysography, to be sifted of all books containing sacred images, and they were destroyed, it is said, to the number of 50,000 volumes. A recent writer on Byzantine miniature art, M. Kondakov, says notwithstanding, that if we may judge by analogy the Iconoclastic movement caused no real interruption. The art still went on by simple development. Yet we may add that by the beginning of the ninth century it had greatly declined. Many writers are inclined to agree that the true golden age of Byzantine painting was that which dawned upon the accession of the Macedonian dynasty. When Basil I., called the Macedonian, ascended the throne of his *fainéant* predecessor, the Lower Empire had entirely ceased to be Roman. Hence it was that the almost effete Byzantine art began to construct fundamental principles, upon doctrinal authority, out of the specific precepts of ancient or local usage. And not only so, but instead of remaining as before, confined to the capital, it began to diffuse itself to the remotest confines of the Empire. It found its way into Asia Minor, and was carried by conquest or commerce to Sicily, Italy, and France. Wherever it appeared it was distinct, self-possessed, and strongly featured, and at first firmly resisted all local influences. At length it fixed itself as the basis of several national styles. Again, miniatures executed at Constantinople were dispersed to East and West, and became models of succeeding work. Partaking of the taste of their fellow craftsmen the enamellers and mosaicists, the illuminators continued to introduce rich accessories of furniture, jewellery, and costume, and thus

¹ THOMPSON and WARNER, *Catalogue*, part II, pl. 18. London, 1884.

not only attained a perfection and neatness of execution unsurpassed even in the fifteenth century, but made us their debtors for the chapters of description which their miniatures have superseded, respecting the usages, dress, arms, furniture, and dwellings of our early mediæval ancestors. Their method of procedure was as follows:—First and almost always they laid down on the vellum a thin leaf of gold which they burnished. On this they made the sketch carefully with pen and ink, and then a thick couch of body colour or *gouache* was laid on, as in enamelling, with a gummy varnish. This dried quickly, and another of a different or brighter tint was skilfully laid over it and again allowed to dry. Thus the process was continued from the darkest to the lightest tints, until the work was completed, the highest finish being given with pure white, bright pale yellow, or liquid gold, or perhaps all three. The artist had need to be well skilled in handling his materials, and knowing the effect of successive layers of colour. In the best time the dominant principle which prevailed even over the marked proficiency of drawing was a scrupulous regard to the harmonious relations of colours. The tints in general are bright, resonant, and boldly contrasted. At the same time the actual colours and hues of objects, furniture, utensils, and buildings were ruthlessly ignored, disregarded and sacrificed in the miniatures, and only such colours employed as suited the scheme of the design and the artist's taste. Although we are aware that in more sunny lands houses are often bright with pure tints of rose, or blue, or violet, still the waywardness of choice shown in these Byzantine edifices, with their walls and terraces of pale rose, pale green, or delicate orange is evidently systematic and pre-determined. Whether from this source it passed into other styles of miniature, or whether the same necessity gave rise to it as an independent conception, an apparently utter disregard of the actual colours of objects is one of the most characteristic features of all earlier miniatures of every school. No more extreme instances, perhaps, need be pointed out than the Celtic miniatures of the Irish Book of Kells, or those of the Saxon, Visigothic, Merovingian, or Lombardic MSS. of the seventh and eighth centuries. The truth is that the miniature was accepted as an ideal and purely ornamental embellishment. If it could be rendered instructive the effort was praiseworthy; but at all cost of fidelity it must be made bright and, as the artist hoped, beautiful. This was his aim, whatever we

may now think of the result. No doubt the illuminator of the Sacramentary of the abbey of Gellone or of the Penitential of Tours intended to make his terrible atrocities attractive to the reader, and perhaps sincerely thought he had succeeded. The colour-scheme is there. Everything is sacrificed to it. Splendour is sometimes sought in the excessive use of gold. In Byzantine miniature the intention is the same, but the culture of the artist, his power and dexterity of hand, his knowledge of the true principles of harmony, of plant and often of animal forms, and indeed of nearly everything except true perspective, are altogether of a higher grade. In perspective, all ancient and most mediæval art still extant goes wrong. Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Lombard, Gothic, all fail; there is no exception. The principles of this most essential element of design were but vaguely guessed at, while practically the most flagrant errors were committed. A man's eye must have warned him that the furthest of several vessels in a fleet should not be conspicuously larger than the nearest; yet the artist of the Vatican Vergil has made it so. The miniaturist of a Byzantine or Carolingian MS. must have known that the farther side of a seat or footstool was not larger than the front. It is difficult to believe that he could imagine it to seem larger, yet by some strange confusion of his senses he often makes it so. One would suppose that scarcely a child would make a man standing on a tower so disproportionate as to appear like a jack-in-the-box, or a prison wall so low that Joseph is made to enter it by striding over; yet numbers of mediæval miniatures, some even as late as the fifteenth century, display these peculiarities.

The Oriental and early practice of making the principal character larger to express dignity or superiority, and the tendency more or less towards allegory, may account for disproportion in figures, but the linear perspective of the majority of mediæval artists is the result of sheer and even unaccountable ignorance. We can only suppose that working mostly by rule of thumb in the matter of technic, the ordinary illuminator was an utterly servile copyist as regards form and composition.

The great impulse given to architecture by the magnificent projects of Basil I. (867-886) naturally resulted in the revival of illumination. The mosaics of Santa Sophia and other ecclesiastical edifices became irresistible incentives to the production of beautiful MSS., in which the splendour of Byzantine costume and accessories is combined with the

simpler elegance of classic motive and composition. A remarkable example occurs in a Psalter now in the National Library at Paris, (no. 139), which contains 14 miniatures of special historical importance. The explanation of the antique air and Pompeian colouring of this Psalter is that it is a copy of an ancient original executed by the methods laid down in the Byzantine manuals of painting. Four of the miniatures have become almost world-famous through the constant reference of writers on Byzantine art. They are not more perfectly executed than the rest, but they are more typical of their class of illumination. The first is David—the sweet singer of Israel—as a youth playing on a lute, seated in the midst of an idyllic landscape in the character of Orpheus or Apollo. It is a classic Orpheus charming the denizens of the forest with his melody, but vastly superior to the Orpheus of the Catacombs. The scene is Pompeian to its minutest details. David, clothed like a Vergilian shepherd, with flowing blonde tresses, sits on a mound in the middle of the picture. Behind him on the same mound sits Melody, with her left hand laid gracefully upon his right shoulder. She appears as the Muse of the rural games. On her head is a rose-coloured fillet or “stemma” with a bright gem in front. Below to the right of the spectator is a figure called Mount Bethlehem—*ΟΡΟΣ ΒΗΘΛΕΕΜ*—clasping the stem of a tree. In the background is a mountainous landscape with an antique Italian villa called Bethlehem, and among the trees a column with a vase at top wreathed with a red silken band. Behind this peeps the head of a figure called Echo, intently listening to the music, the whole unquestionably an adaptation of a classical subject to a Biblical scene. The composition has been copied in all the later Psalters of the same family, *e.g.* the Psalter of the Barberini Libr. Rome, no. 202, that of the Vatican, Palat. no. 381. The latter is reproduced by Kondakov in a sketchy outline.¹ The present miniature of the Paris Psalter appears as a woodcut in Woltmann.² It has been often reproduced.

Personifications of abstract qualities, which are among the typical characteristics of Byzantine miniature, and which reach their climax in the later works of Simeon Metaphrastes and John Climacus, are here shown clearly to be an inheritance from classic art. In another miniature (no. 4) of this Paris MS., *The Fight between*

¹ *Histoire de l'Art Byzantin, considéré principalement dans les miniatures*, II, 31. Paris, 1891.

² WOLTMANN and WOERMANN, *History of Painting*, I, 225.

David and Goliath, a figure of winged power, Δύναμις, is seen assisting the youth, while Vain-glory, Ἀλαζονεία, flies discomfited from the giant. Waagen, hastily judging from the defective composition of the lower part of the picture, attributes it to a later hand, but Kondakov points out that the difference is due simply to the two-fold origin of the subject.¹ But perhaps the most important though certainly not the most beautiful composition in the volume is (no. 7), *The exaltation of David as King*. Here he is represented of mature age, standing in a majestic ceremonious attitude in the manner, and, what is more noticeable, in the costume (as in the Rabula MS.) of the Byzantine Emperor. If we could trust this school of miniature in portraiture, we should doubtless see in this personage the traditional lineaments of Basil himself, or of his son Leo the Philosopher, both enthusiastic patrons of art; or at least the contemporary figure of the monarch under whom the MS. was executed.² We certainly see the stately ceremonial of the imperial court described by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, and the details of the very apparel worn on this solemn occasion. The student may compare a much later example of the same ceremony of the presentation of the Emperor to the people in another MS. in the Paris Library, (fonds Coislin, no. 79), reproduced by Montfaucon,³ and later, from Montfaucon's engraving, by Woltmann.⁴ This MS. shows the utterly soulless petrification of the later work, to which the Paris Psalter has not yet descended. The ceremonial picture represents a long series of what may be called dedicatory miniatures, extending from the later Roman consular figures of the ivory diptychs, through the Carolingian and Othonian Gospel-books down to the classic authors of the French Renaissance, the Venetian and Papal diplomas, and the Spanish cartas de Hidalguía; and it is the first representation extant in any MS. of the Imperial official ceremony. Lastly we must notice the 13th miniature, not only because of its intrinsic merits, but as being frequently confused with similar miniatures in other MSS., e.g., the Vatican MS. 755, containing a commentary

¹ WAAGEN, *Kunstwerke und Künstler in Paris*, III, 220. Berlin, 1839. KONDAKOV, II, 33. LABARTE, *Histoire des Arts Industriels*, 2 ed., II, 33. Paris, 1873.

² LABARTE (II, 449) suggests that the three figures, given by him on pl. 47 from a MS. (Greek 64) in the Nat. Libr., Paris, are those of Romanus Lacapenus, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, and the Virgin Mary.

³ *Bibliotheca Coisliniana*. Paris, 1715.

⁴ *History of Painting*, I, 229.

on Isaiah. The subject is *Isaiah praying at dawn*.¹ Here the prophet stands in a somewhat formal attitude between the personification of Night, a graceful, classically-draped female, and a child named ΟΡΘΟC. Night has a light gossamer or silken veil studded with golden stars, which floats balloon-like over her head. She holds in her hand a reversed torch; above her is the word ΝΥΞ. In the right upper corner is a hand, from which a beam of golden rays streams down upon the nimbused head of Isaiah, above whom is written vertically the name ΗCΑΙAC in Greek uncials. There are trees behind, signifying that the scene takes place in the wilderness. The child carries a lighted torch on his left shoulder. It is remarkable that the nimbus about the head of Night, as a celestial personage, is *blue*, that of Isaiah, as a terrestrial, is slate-grey. Besides the miniatures, the MS. contains ornamental headings of flowers and fruits and some animals, also some jewels in imitation of mosaic-work and metal-enamelling. These motives prove that the MS. was executed before the decadence of the eleventh century, when a kind of spasmodic imitation of Western fish and bird-forms in the initials marks, among other signs, the utter degradation of this Basilian Byzantine style. The ornamental accessories are inherited from the Iconoclastic interval under the edicts of Leo III. and Theophilus. Those edicts did not, as some writers have thought, utterly forbid pictorial art, but the representation of personages who might become the objects of idolatrous worship, and in this particular they had the sympathy and assistance of Charles the Great. On the other hand it is known, from extant remains and from direct statement, that Theophilus himself (829-842) had many churches decorated with arabesques, figures of birds, and other animals, flowers and foliage, and doubtless books might be ornamented in the same fashion.²

Previous to the eighth century, MSS. do not show historiated or pictured initials. There is no doubt that the edicts against image worship, by forbidding the representation of saintly figures, cut off a large source of income to many artists and so closed many ateliers in the Greek Empire. But the strong resistance to the imperial mandates, and especially the resolute protest of Pope Gregory II., prevented the catastrophe which seemed to

¹ Reproduced in KONDAKOV, II, 37.

² See for example MSS. (Greek 63 and 64) in the National Library, Paris. Titles are written in gold under square doorways or Π shaped designs, decorated with sprays of foliage, birds, etc.

threaten this form of pictorial art. One good result—though a minor one—of the Edict of 728, was that it compelled a greater attention on the part of illuminators to pure linear ornament, and so developed a feature hitherto kept very subordinate, but afterwards destined to play a very important part indeed. Thus an advance was made which only awaited the return of imperial patronage to become in all respects the richest style of book ornamentation hitherto invented. The advent of the Macedonian dynasty (867–1056) afforded the necessary support, and the second revival, the golden age of Byzantine art, was the splendid and immediate result. But unfortunately for the freedom of the individual artist, a simultaneously popular monastic or hierarchical despotism laid hold of the painter's art with its vast capabilities for teaching, as a weapon of ecclesiastical authority, and submitted it to a system of regulations or method which in its technic, its processes, and the selection of its subjects was as dogmatic as the spirit of that ascetic age could render it. The "Painters' Guide," now well known through the labours of M. Didron and the translation of M. Paul Durand, was the embodiment of this Byzantine method, on the precepts of which, whilst still somewhat unsettled, were executed the MSS. already described; but the really typical condensation of which is only exhibited to perfection in an example which remains to be mentioned. In the hands of the skilful masters whose practice formed its basis the Method shows little of its innate weakness, but a time comes when originality is no longer possible, and the conceptions of the artist are exchanged for the prescriptions of a rigid formulary. Then it is that the painter's occupation sinks into a mere mechanical practice without thought and without life, a body without a soul.

Thus Byzantine art became a mere automaton. Within two centuries it had lost every throb of artistic power. Under the Latin emperors it lost its last semblance of movement; yet it lingered on age after age and still lingers, as has been keenly said, unable either to live or die. The ruling motive which influenced the first practitioners of this despotic guild was one born of their courtly training. It was a passion for splendid effect. The details are suggested from the sister arts, both true daughters of Byzantine architecture, enamelling and mosaic. The miniaturist may copy antique models, but he is restricted to a conventional way of copying. The antique imaginative personification of mountains, rivers and cities is for him a felicitous suggestion, and is extended by the ascetic, literal and arid

theology of the schools to all manner of abstract philosophical terms and monastic symbolisms down to and beyond the verge of the ludicrous and puerile. In the hands of the classic artist the personification was poetic, vivid, and original. In those of the illuminators of Climacus it becomes a formulated iconography of virtues and vices, of clemency, reason, gratitude, humility, asceticism, malice, loquacity, in short of every conception that to the mind of the visionary compiler of the pictorial catalogue could take a literal or physical counterform. Their only salvation is that they base the conception on some classic model. Nevertheless, it was under this Macedonian revival that the growing tendency to abstraction gave Byzantine miniature art that very universality which made it, through the decentralisation which dispersed its models beyond the furthest limits of the Empire, the groundwork of so many other national styles. It was during this period that the style was extended into Syria, Egypt, Calabria, and Ravenna. In Sicily it coalesces with Saracenic, in Venice and North Italy with Lombardic, in France and Germany with Romanesque. It gives consistency to the designs of prehistoric heritage among the Visigothic painters of Narbonne and the Celtic of Durrow. There are mosaics at Monreale, Naples, and Venice exported from Constantinople or executed from cartoons by Byzantine artists. Among the important examples which the student able to visit foreign libraries might examine are three or four of really typical value, as they embody in the most remarkable manner the features pointed out in the foregoing remarks. The first is a MS. which some writers have spoken of as the most precious and characteristic of all—the famous *Menology* or *Passionale* of the Vatican Library (MS. Gr. 1613). It is described by Platner,¹ Kondakov,² Seroux d'Agincourt,³ and Labarte.⁴ It is part of a Calendar of the Saints, containing the portion from September to February, illustrated with no fewer than 430 miniatures. Brought from Constantinople as a present to Ludovico il Moro, duke of Milan, it came through Cardinal Sfondrati into the hands of Pope Paul V., who in 1615 placed it in the Vatican Library. An edition with engravings of its miniatures was published early in the eighteenth century by Cardinal Albani.⁵

¹ *Beschreibung Roms, ein Auszug, etc.*, p. 209. Stuttgart, 1845.

² *Histoire de l'Art Byzantin*, II, ch. viii.

³ *Peinture*, pp. 55, 56; pl. xxxi-xxxiii.

⁴ *Histoire des Arts industriels*, II, 181.

⁵ *Menologium Graecorum iussu Basilii Imperatoris Graecae olim editum, etc.* 3 vols. Urbino, 1727.

In the reign of the literary Constantine Porphyrogenitus (911-959), the 3rd of the Macedonian emperors, there was living a pious and industrious writer of patrician birth who by steady merit and perseverance had risen to be secretary first to the father of Constantine and afterwards to Constantine himself. This secretary the emperor urged to compile a collection of lives of the Saints, to be gathered from all available sources, native and foreign. The compilation, after a long and patient exercise of true monastic industry, placed side by side every obtainable instance of heroic virtue, and every prodigy that could encourage or astonish the faithful reader. It is known as the *Passional* of Simeon surnamed *Metaphrastes*, or the *Amplifier*, from his skill in making up the innumerable biographies and stories of which his work is composed. For almost a century, and whilst still without pictorial illustrations, the work became increasingly popular, but in the reign of Basil II. (976-1025) it was admitted among the standard volumes to be illustrated by the court miniaturists. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries many copies were produced in Greece and Italy, and even in Asia. Sometimes it was divided into sections under different titles.¹ By the end of the ninth century, and during the author's lifetime, had already appeared the type or abridgment of which the Vatican Menology is the most ancient specimen. It is looked upon as indeed the unique model from which all the rest have proceeded. Its historical importance rests:—1. on its combining in itself all the resources of the painter's art, and in representing its technic in its greatest perfection; 2. on its resuming, in one scheme, every precept of composition, and thus fixing the style of succeeding ages. If we limit the best period of Byzantine art to the three centuries from the tenth to the thirteenth, this MS. certainly is its best example. It is invoked by writers of all shades of critical opinion, as the chief source and monument of Byzantine principles. Moreover it is a dated MS. A memorandum inserted within it informs us that it was executed at the instance of an emperor Basilius, who can be no other than Basil II.² It contains about half the entire number of miniatures, or at least those belonging to about half the year. The artists employed upon it were highly skilled artists, not merely monastic calligraphists, and they worked in concert. The names of the

¹ J. A. FABRICIUS, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, x, 141.

² UGHELLI, *Italia Sacra*, vi, 1019. Venetiis, 1717-22.

different authors of the miniatures are inscribed upon them, and recur almost alternately. Of course they are somewhat unequal in execution, nevertheless the evenness of method and process is conspicuous. Again, the work seems almost certainly to have been executed at Constantinople, as two or three of the artists belonged to the district of the Palace of Blacherna, or perhaps to the Palace itself near the Leonine bridge. The architectural backgrounds, with their cupolas and porticoes and arcades of coloured marbles, their gigantic aqueducts, flat roofed villas, and two-storied houses with open colonnades recall the magnificence of the opulent capital of the East. One pre-occupation, it is clear, is in the mind of every artist—the production of a splendid work. But in all the splendour of costume and ornament we cannot but notice a monotonous defect of originality, nor can we find evidence of any valuable mental quality personal to the artist. He is an accomplished and dexterous manipulator, and that is all. His models had to be imitated—his method tells him how—and he faithfully performs his task. As to the design, entire series of saints of both sexes recur page after page, all standing in similar attitudes of ceremony under porticoes with curtains—put briefly to represent a temple—a motive of decoration which already appears in the mosaics of Salonica and Ravenna. In some cases the landscape is made quite independent of the action, a sort of ready-made background, in which such scenes are prescribed to occur, indicating a similar condition of veracity to that of the old Nuremberg chronicle woodcuts, where the same city does equally well for Augsburg or Koeln, the same battle scene for Cannæ, Zama, or Chalons. It is the abstract truth or spirit of events, rather than the events themselves, which the Byzantine miniaturists set themselves to depict. Scenes of martyrdom are placed in the midst of mountain solitudes, and headless bodies and praying saints are made to suggest the nature of the occurrence. The designer, conscious of the repulsive nature of his subject, softens its unpleasantness by the brilliant accessories of dress and ornament, by bright sparkling colours and burnished gold. There is a stated expression for each particular set of personages. In ordinary cases the type is easily recognised. A long and somewhat aquiline nose—the eyebrows forming one continuous line—a wrinkled anxious forehead, thin lips drawn downwards at the corners, the visage oval, the complexion pallid or sunburnt. Youths wear their hair in tresses, elderly people

short and sometimes tufted. In the ninth and tenth centuries the prevailing Byzantine taste as to hair was for blonde, auburn, or red, a taste afterwards adopted with other Byzantine matters by the Venetians. In the lower classes of persons the forehead is low and beetling; in the upper, especially among ecclesiastics, high and bald.

In the earlier miniatures of the Macedonian revival the general expression among martyrs is calm and resolute and even happy, the glance usually turned aside. In the decadence the expression becomes haggard and sorrowful, sometimes agonised, showing a complete departure from the conception of the martyr spirit, or else an aim at realism, in departing from the mechanical canon of the Manual. From the Menology and other examples we learn that the facial types are not Roman, but derived from those of ancient Greece, for instance in the broad and rather low forehead, but in place of the gentle arch of the the old Greek eyebrow, we have the horizontal frown (*σύνωφρος* 'Ὀδυσσεύς) of the later Georgian and Armenian races, historically emphasized in the features of the usurper Johannes Ducas, called from this peculiarity "Murtzophlé." The large Greek eye (*βοῶπις πόντια* "Ἡρῆ) with its shadowy, mystic gaze as in the Ludovisi Hera, and the Zeus of Pheidias, becomes first a look of dignified indifference and then a stony and expressionless stare still more wildly exaggerated in Romanised Celtic and Carolingian types. The fine athletic figure of the Antinous has become meagre and attenuated, the consequence of an ascetic, supposed to be holy, contempt of life. The nose is pinched and avaricious; the mouth not ample and beautiful withal, but pursed and doll-like, with no expression beyond the insolent pout of the underlip. In female saints the gesture is precisely the reverse of that given in classic sculpture. To express a womanly figure the Roman sculptor selects the moment of a bride removing her veil with her right hand. The Byzantine painter prefers that of a novice on entering conventual life who draws her veil over her face with her left hand. Extant examples of Byzantine miniature are exceedingly numerous. Kondakov gives a list of nearly two hundred MSS. and Bordier gives others. In conclusion it may be said, that whilst rapidly decaying after the close of the Macedonian dynasty, still some remains of Comnenian miniature (1057-1185) are not altogether destitute of artistic value. But after the capture of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204 and during the French occupation the

subject is no longer deserving of serious study. By the fifteenth century all idea of beauty and even technical skill had faded from Byzantine work.¹

CHARACTERISTICS OF BYZANTINE ART.

FIGURE.—Founded on antique models, but adapted to a regular and inflexible canon, almost indeed as rigid as that of the Egyptians and Assyrians. Action stiff and formal, expression unvaried for each type of character.

Drapery at first classical, afterwards inferior in drawing, but enriched with embroideries and jewels.

LANDSCAPE, ETC.—Mostly imitated from the antique, often seeming as if studied direct from Nature. Frequently quite independent of the action. Buildings in the style of Pompeian villas in the older work, but representing the architecture of Constantinople in the later. Architectural backgrounds with cupolas and arcades of coloured marbles.

ORNAMENT.—Borders of miniatures at first but slightly ornamented. Foliage, linear ornaments, arabesques, birds, etc., introduced during the Iconoclastic period under the emperor Theophilus. Initials of several coloured portions, some formed of fantastic animals, birds, etc., always outlined or enriched with gold. After Theophilus headings become richly arabesqued.

TECHNIC.—In most instances the miniature is painted on a ground of leaf gold. Colours bright, varied, and mixed with a viscid and varnish-like medium probably of egg-glaire and gum; sometimes so thick as to scale off with age and use. Methods of working laid down in a system called the *Guide to Painting*, and containing strict and invariable rules, both as to materials, manipulation, and subject.

¹ See for example the MS. sent as a token of friendship and *reconnais-sance* to the Abbey of St. Denis by Manuel Palæologus II. in 1425.

MANUSCRIPTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF BYZANTINE MINIATURE
ART.

Name.	Location.	Date.	Remarks.
Rabula Gospel-book.	Laurentian Library, Florence.	586.	Written at Zagba, Mesopotamia.
Fragment of Gospels.	Brit. Mus., Add. 5111.	6th cent.	Mutilated fragment painted on gold ground.
Topography of Cosmas Indikopleustes.	Vatican Libr., Gr. 699.	9th cent.	Copy of an older MS.
Menology.	Vatican Libr., Gr. 1613.	" "	In 2 vols. A typical example.
Greek Psalter.	Nat. Libr., Paris, Gr. 139.	" "	Very fine antique motives.
Gregory of Nazianzus.	" " Gr. 510.	" "	Fine antique motives.
" "	" " Gr. 543.	" "	Good small figures.
" "	" " Gr. 550.	" "	Do. and headings.
Terence.	" " Lat. 7899	" "	Antique copy of early MS.
Gospel-book.	Brit. Mus., Arund. 547.		
" "	" " Burn. 19, 20.		
Gospel Lectionary.	" " Harl. 5598.	10th cent.	A.D. 995. Fine initials.
St. Chrysostom.	Nat. Libr., Paris, Gr. 654.	" "	Remarkable initials.
Simeon Metaphrastes.	Brit. Mus., Add. 11870.	11th cent.	Beautiful ornaments.
Gregory of Nazianzus	Vat. Libr., Gr. 463.	" "	Finished 1063.
Gospel-book.	Brit. Mus., Add. 11838.	" "	Beautiful headings.
Psalter.	" " Egert. 1139.	12th cent.	Executed for Melisenda, daughter of Baldwin, king of Jerusalem.
Gospels.	" " Harl. 4949.	" "	
"	" " Add. 26103.		
"	" " " 22740.		
"	" " Harl. 5731.		
"	Vat. Libr., Urbino 2.	12th cent.	Finished 1128.
"	" " Gr. 756.	" "	
"	Ambros. Libr., Milan.	13th cent.	
"	Nat. Libr., Paris, Gr. 54.	" "	

The above is only a very small selection from the lists of Bordier, Kondakov, and others. A large number of Byzantine MSS. are kept at the convent on Mount Sinai, in the National Library, Paris, in the Vatican, and in the Synodal Library, Moscow.

IV

CELTIC AND OTHER EARLY STYLES, AND THEIR
COMBINATIONS.

About the same time that Justinian was restoring and enriching his capital on the Bosphorus, a missionary prince of the Royal House of Niall was entering on his youthful studies at the monastery of Durrow in Ireland. Those who deny any Roman influence on Celtic illumination may ask themselves how this Durrow monastery came into existence? Christianity, according to the Abbé MacGeoghegan, was not unknown in Ireland in the fourth century.¹ Some have gravely asserted that the Gospel was first brought by Simon Zelotes, who, they say, was crucified in Britain; such indeed is the account given in some copies of the Greek Menology. It is contradicted, however, by the Roman Breviary and the Martyrologies of Bede, Usuardus and Ado. Simeon Metaphrastes attributes the introduction of Christianity to St. Peter; Vincent of Beauvais to St. James. Some old writers tell of St. Mansuetus, a disciple of St. Peter, as one of the earliest missionaries, others speak of at least four bishops who were predecessors of St. Patrick. But whilst we reserve our belief in these traditions, we cannot but notice that they all point to a great probability of the very early knowledge of Christianity by the Irish. It is possible that the two royal book-lovers mentioned above may never have heard of each other, but there came a time when the streams of artistic culture, which they severally set running, met and mingled, and it will be the business of this chapter to trace the course of Irish art until it is made subordinate to the new elements thus brought into contact with it.

The juncture forms the basis of a reconstruction which is coincident with the great literary quickening called the Carolingian Renaissance. It is not material to us whether Ireland was christianised by an authorised Roman bishop or by private missionary enterprise. The fact important to us is that about the middle of the sixth century an Irish prince, one of the most illustrious of Irish saints, led a small band of zealous Christian workers across the sea from Donegal to the Isle of Hy or Iona. He was a descendant of Niall the Great, King of Ireland, and son of

¹ *Histoire de l'Irlande ancienne et moderne*, i, 155. Paris, 1758.

the O'Donnel of Tirconnel, but his name is not recorded, unless the appellation by which he is known as a missionary be really baptismal. He was called Columba, the Dove, or Columcille, the dove of the cell or monastery, in poetic allusion to his message of peace. The island to which he went, granted to him and his twelve companions by the Pictish chieftain then claiming the western Isles, was called after him, I-colum-cille, or translating, as monks were then used to, the Latin columba into its Hebrew equivalent, Iona, the Dove's Isle.¹ The mission took place in 563. After a good deal of travelling from land to land, Columba eventually returned to his nest at Iona, where he died in 597. Meantime, some of his companions were busy transcribing and ornamenting with their amazing calligraphic skill several copies of the Gospels, in imitation of others which are said to have existed in their original monastery of Durrow. There is even a tradition that Columba himself once transcribed a Psalter, and that one of the Gospel-books also among those executed at Iona in 590 was the work of his own hand. That Gospel-book, whether by the hand of Columba or not, is the starting point of extant Irish calligraphy. Though later than the traditional date it is not only the oldest, but it is the most wonderful of Irish MSS., perhaps of any MSS. whatever. Once seen it is never forgotten. It is in itself both the finest type and the completest monument of Celtic art in existence. The main features of the style—the band-work and knotted weaving—may be seen on the stone crosses remaining in various parts of Britain, but the pen-drawing of the MS. exceeds the stone carving in accuracy, minuteness, and variety. The chief peculiarities of Celtic ornament consist:—1. in the entire absence of plant forms or foliages; 2. in the excessive intricacy and extreme minuteness and elaboration of the various patterns, which are mostly geometrical. They consist of interlaced wicker or ribbon work, diagonal and spiral lines, and strange, monstrous, or mythological beasts, half bird, half lizard, with enormously extended necks and tails, intertwining in almost inextricable knots.²

¹ Of course the primary allusion is to the dove sent out by Noah. Jonah the missionary to Nineveh perhaps received the appellation from his mission: and thus in plain prose, the term may simply mean missionary, and I Columcille the isle of the missionaries.

² WESTWOOD, *Celtic Ornament*, in OWEN JONES, *Grammar of Ornament*, pp. 64—69. London, 1856. F. KELLER, *Bilder und Schriftzüge in den Irischen Manuscripten der Schweizerischen Bibliotheken*, in *Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich*, VII, Heft iii. Zürich, 1851. (English translation by W. REEVES, *Early Irish Calligraphy*, in *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, VIII. Belfast, 1860.)

In the early Christian MSS., executed under the influence of classic models, the "Incipit" of a volume and the first few words or lines of the text were simply and plainly written in a larger hand, and in a different ink, usually red; whilst the earliest Oriental MSS. have an ornamental panel across the top of the page, containing in a more ornate script the title of the work. The lettering of early Italian MSS., *e.g.* the Ambrosian Homer, is exceedingly clear, neat, and legible. On the other hand, the most ancient Celtic MSS., as this Iona Gospel-book of 590, have the first page entirely covered with ornament. On the next page the first letters are of a gigantic size, and a few following words are written in letters varying from half an inch to two inches in height. It must have been a reference to letters of these dimensions and of a date earlier than any extant MSS. that gave rise to the Roman name of uncials. Then again, in the Gospel-book, the page opposite to each Gospel is also filled with ornament of intricate patterns, in the midst of which is modelled a Greek cross. This suggests that Pachomius or Basil rather than Augustine or Benedict was the founder of the Irish monastic rule. The lettering, though large, is by no means easily legible, owing to the strange and fanciful shapes into which the Roman or Greek characters are distorted. In reply to the statement sometimes made that the oldest Celtic ornament shows no sign of Roman or Byzantine influence, in this MS., now usually known as the Book of Kells, we find both the Greek cross and the arcade (as in the Add. MS. 5111) of the Eusebian canons, quite similar to those of the Rabula MS. and other examples of early Byzantine execution. The details alone are indigenous, and unquestionably very much so. They belong to a class of ornament common in prehistoric times to all Aryan races. Dr. K. Lamprecht in a most elaborate essay on Initial ornament,¹ endeavours to prove that a similar kind of decoration prevailed in Germany before any contact with Irish work was known. He goes on to analyse it and to tell us how it was developed from the point and line by successive steps of natural progression or suggestion. This may be quite possible and may explain the origin of a good deal of barbaric ornament. But it can scarcely be doubted that the art of pattern weaving or plaiting, perpetuated in the Scottish plaid, for which the Celts have always been famous, had much to do with the penwork

¹ *Initial-Ornamentik des VIII. bis XIII. Jahrhunderts.* Leipzig 1882. With numerous illustrations.

designs of early Irish MSS. As for the evolution of the serpent, the swan, the greyhound, etc., and of various forms suspiciously like leaves of plants, we know that practically it is quite common in mere brushwork to imitate ornamental foliage, without any reference to plant forms, by simple strokes of the brush variously emphasized. Coincidences of this kind are always possible. The fact that the basis of Irish ornament is geometrical is sufficient to show that the ideas, gradually developed on the stone monuments, and derived originally from the rude carvings and weavings of prehistoric savages, may have occurred quite similarly at the same stages to the forerunners of classic art, and so brought the patterns of Roman tiles and mosaics into coincidence, more or less exact, with those of Irish MSS. and ancient Teutonic monuments. This consideration should serve to reconcile the very different opinions of writers like Westwood, who strongly adheres¹ to the indigenous, non-classic interference, theory, and Fleury,² who as rigidly insists that the Celtic, Frankish, and Visigothic illuminators owed their knots and interlacings to the sculptures and mosaics of ancient Roman remains.

The elements, then, of Irish calligraphy are such as were in use among prehistoric tribes in textile art, viz., plaiting, hand-weaving, etc., in zigzags, knots, and interlacings, and at a later period in metal work, including studs, bosses, frets, and fine spirals, all of which are imitated in the pen-work of the MSS. Terminals of bird or serpent-form combine with linear designs merely as ornament. The dog and dragon are common, and indicate a coincident and perhaps racial relation to the archaic Greek vase ornaments before these fell under the influence of Western Asia. Among Celtic as among Frankish, Teutonic, and Italic artists, the practice of the same hand working in various materials was common. Thus Dagœus (d. 586, the year in which the Syriac Gospel Book was finished) was a calligraphist and also an expert worker in metals. The pen-drawing of the Book of Kells and other cognate MSS. suggests precisely the same combination of skill. Dunstan in England, Eligius in France, Tuotila in German Switzerland displayed similar versatility. When the human figure is introduced, it is subjected to the same geometrical or symmetrical arrangement as the linear

¹ This was written before the death of that venerable and accomplished archæologist.

² *Les Manuscrits à Miniatures de la Bibliothèque de Laon*, i, 8. Laon, 1863.

patterns. The hair and beard are arranged in spirals, the eyes and nostrils become flourishes of the pen. The limbs are symmetrically balanced. The colouring also follows the same plan, the limbs, hair, and draperies being remorselessly patterned out in blue, or green, or red, as the *tout ensemble* of the ornament may require.

The colours employed in Celtic MSS. are paled yellow, paled lake or rose, violet, paled blue, and paled bright green. I say paled and not pale, as the tints are designedly lightened, not used in their normal intensities, except on occasion. The blue and red are opaque and probably of mineral origin, the rest are transparent. For example, the four symbolic beasts of the Gospels, which were the favourite illustrations, are always so treated. In the *Evangelarium*, or Gospel-book, of St. Columbanus, of the sixth century, the lion is covered with green and red lozenge-shaped scales. Hands and faces are often left uncoloured, and shading is never attempted. A good example of the usual treatment of a figure page is the St. John of the Gospel-book of Mael Brith Mac Durnan, now in the Lambeth Archiepiscopal Library. There is a reproduction of it in Westwood's *Palaeographia*¹; the same page is given by Humphreys,² and by Woltmann.³ In estimating the general character of a style it is necessary to take into consideration the features exhibited during an extended period of time. But in Irish work the two centuries or more which lie between the Book of Durrow and the Gospels of Mael Brith Mac Durnan make very little difference. Perhaps there is a trifle less of band-work and more of the mosaic pattern, yet this is not distinctly so. The real advance from the sixth to the tenth century was in the introduction of gold and silver. In the earliest examples the colouring is rich and sometimes harmonious, the technic is skilful, and the manipulation, especially as regards the pen, nothing less than marvellous. The pen-work really suggests mechanical helps of some kind. The coils or spirals are so exact that they might well have been printed off the edge of a finely coiled wire, or steel watch-spring, if such a thing had then been known. The grounds are often black, and the design put on in red, blue, green, and yellow, while the border-frames are grounded in tender tones of violet and rose; but gold appears to be unknown, or at any rate it is quite excluded. Even in

¹ *Palaeographia sacra pictoria*, pl. 13. The figure pages of St. Matthew and St. Luke, and the beginning of St. Mark's Gospel are reproduced on plate 22 of the same author's *Fac-similes of the Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish MSS.* London, 1868.

² *The Art of Illumination.* London, 1849.

³ *History of Painting*, I, 204.

the page just cited of the Lambeth Gospels, a MS. dated from the ninth century, there is no gold. Mael Brith Mac Durnan was abbot of Derry and bishop of Armagh from 885 to 927. The MS. was presented to Canterbury Cathedral by King Athelstan. A contemporary note informs us that "Mael-brith son of Durnan worthily expounded this text by the aid of the Trinity, and Athelstan King and Ruler of the English Saxons gives the book to the Metropolitan Church of Canterbury for ever." It is, however, very probable that the MS. was an old one when given to the King, and acquired by, rather than executed for, Mael Brith, and the absence of gold seems to confirm this opinion.

The Book of Durrow is a venerable Gospel-book, once claimed as the work of St. Columba. Together with the wonderful Book of Kells, it is preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. The internal evidence goes to prove that neither of them is as old as the sixth century, but they must have existed in the seventh, or very early in the eighth; as they are manifestly older than the Gospel-Book of Lindisfarne, now in the British Museum (Nero D. IV), which was executed between 698 and 721. In these very early books it was the practice to begin, as already mentioned, with a page, or even several pages, of ornament, used either for its own sake, or for the most elaborate embellishment of the commencing words.

In the Book of Kells, six pages are taken up with the the words *Liber generationis Christi*, in the way of combinations, monograms, or inclavings of the letters, the X P I or monogram of Christ forming the subject of the entire last page. This page is the very climax and culmination of all calligraphic art. It has never been equalled for variety, intricacy, and unfaltering dexterity of execution; but its taste and pattern are more than half barbaric. The letters are, however, of a bold and even elegant form, sometimes quaintly varied but always pictorial, and ingeniously combined. The page commencing St. Mark's Gospel is very beautiful; plaited-work, spirals, birds, and animals forming part of the ornamentation. The text most curiously banded together, runs somewhat thus,

Finit

argumentum evangelii secundum
Matheum :. Incipiunt breves cau
se cundum Marcum

& ERATIO

HANNIS BAPTIZANS IHM ET VE
nit supereum sps dī et fuitih̄sindeserto
temptatus.

The penman, however barbarous his taste, as regards the forms of animals and the details of his patterns, had an uncommon sense of balance and a true feeling for the treatment of surface decoration. Here are delicacy, judgment, precision, and no little display of perhaps his greatest gift, imagination. The exquisite proportion between the intricate masses and the broad plain borders, and the finer distribution of the narrow bands, is most wonderful. Certainly no half-civilized Maori or Hawaiian could reach this. The Irish clergy of the seventh century must have been men of culture, and they must have met somehow with Roman art. The "Incipit" of St. Luke's Gospel in the MS. now before us is a masterpiece of design. The upper part of the text is dark brown, the lower rather pale; then comes an ornamental line and the text:—

quoniamqui plantat et qui inrigat
unum suntqui autemincrementum
prestat dē est. Incipitargumentum
evangelii secundum lucanum.
LUCAS SYRUS NAtione
antiochensis artemedicus dis
cipulus apostolorum.

A change is made in the word *sunt* to make it harmonize with the initial L and then to balance the *sunt*. A change is also made in the *tum* of *incrementum*. The division of the words in the text to the beginning of St. John's Gospel has a curious effect upon the Latin, and reminds one of Mr. Pickwick's famous Cobham inscription:—

HICESTIOHANNISEVAN gelistaunus deduodecim.

The commencement of St. Mark's Gospel after the capitula is also very chaste and well designed for effect.

But no clear idea can be formed without seeing the originals or consulting some book of reproductions, and of these by far the best is the work: Celtic ornaments from the Book of Kells.¹ Many of these earlier Irish MSS.

¹ Dublin, 1892-94. In this work the principal pages and some of the most remarkable initials are reproduced by the isochromatic method, by which the proper balance of light and shade is to some extent preserved. Enlargements are given of portions. Until now all attempts to reproduce the ornaments of this book in colour have been failures (see WESTWOOD, *Palaeographia*, pl. 16 and 17; *Facsimiles*, pl. 8 to 11). There are reproductions, too, in J. T. GILBERT, *Facsimiles of the National Manuscripts of Ireland*, pl. vii-xvii. Dublin, 1874. Portions are given in M. STOKES, *Early Christian Art in Ireland*. London, 1887; and one, the famous XPI page, in *Vetusta Monumenta*.

were not only richly ornamented in the text, but were preserved in decorated cases or shrines called "cumdachs." Of this kind is the Gospel-Book called the Book of St. Moling now in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. It formerly belonged to the Kavanagh family, of Borris, in the county of Carlow. Another Gospel-book, called the Garland of Howth, contains only interlacings, without the spirals and panellings, and the colours are simply green, yellow and red. The figures of the Evangelists in this MS. are very curious. In the book of Armagh the lines of large letters are written on the white vellum, and the spaces between the letters filled with colour, paled violet, paled yellow and red, the line being bordered with a row of red dots, one of the seldom missing characteristics of Irish calligraphy. The letters are not capitals but enlarged minuscules. The Armagh Gospel-book was written about 807 by Ferdomnach, a scribe of the church of Armagh, who died in 844. A later example occurs in the so-called Psalter of Ricemarch, Bishop of St. David's (1089-96). The border frames are red, yellow and green, and attenuated serpents and birds are among the band-work. Some traces of silver are found in the lettering. It is now in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. It should be observed that the name Psalter does not necessarily mean a Book of Psalms in the sense we usually attach to the word. For instance, the famous Psalter of Tara is so-called because of its metrical character, but it is really a book of records or annals. MacGeoghegan gives a good description of its character and use.¹ Briefly it was a sort of register of the transactions of the grand council of Tara or Teamor, and being composed in a sort of rhythmic prose, may be imagined to be something like the famous poems of Ossian. Copies of the original were laid up in the different cathedral churches under the care of the bishops. They were named after the locality, as the Psalter of Ardmach, the Psalter of Cluan MacNois, etc. About 900, a partial copy of the Tara Psalter, with original addition, was made by Cormac, archbishop of Cashel, who became king of Munster. Examples of this famous compilation, known as the Psalter of Cashel, were still extant when Keating wrote his Irish history early in the seventeenth century, but all are now said to be lost.

Early traditions are unanimous in assigning the most famous relics to the hands of distinguished saints, and

¹ *Histoire de l'Irlande*, I, 104.

hence several of the most ancient books are attributed either to St. Patrick or to St. Columba. Certainly no more energetic gossellers ever undertook the spreading of Christianity than the Irish monks. The names of Columba, Aidan, Columbanus, Gallus, Cataldus, Kilian, Fridolin, Fiachra, and others, attest the establishment of famous Irish foundations in which very many important MSS., which still remain, were produced. The lists given by Lamprecht, Rahn, and others present an immense hoard of books, the majority of which are remarkable for their very peculiar and distinguishable calligraphy. Cahier, F. Denis, Reeves, Rahn, and Keller give us many interesting details concerning these foundations and the MSS. produced in their scriptoria, and MacGeoghegan abridges from the older writers the lives of the Irish missionary saints. The number is by no means inconsiderable, for from the earliest years of Irish Christianity monasticism seems to have formed a distinguished feature of the religious system of the country.

In the fifth and sixth centuries the number of monastic foundations in Ireland was so great that she was called "Insula Sanctorum" and the Thebaïd of the West. It was sufficient in those days to have been in Ireland to earn the title of saint, and become at once the founder of an abbey. Irish foundations were indeed almost innumerable. MacGeoghegan's list is enormous.¹ But the great historic merit of Ireland is her early zeal for the evangelization of Europe. Her missionaries carried the Gospel into Scotland, England, Brittany, France, the Low Countries, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, where they laid the foundation of many religious houses. And with their Gospel they carried their own Gospel-books and their calligraphic art, traceable long afterwards in the books produced by their successors. We have referred to Iona. In 634 this mission was extended to Lindisfarne. And now took place that modification of the style of Irish book ornament which transformed it into Saxon English. Aidan of Lindisfarne, the apostle of Northumbria, accepted the episcopacy in the year of the extension. He died in 651, and was followed by a succession of Irish clergy, a fact which no doubt had much to do with the retention of the peculiar features of Irish art among the details of Saxon calligraphy. St. Cuthbert, probably the last of the Irish bishops, was appointed in 685, and Eadfrith, who followed

¹ *Histoire de l'Irlande*, 1, 280, etc.

him and whose name indicates an English origin, desiring to do honour to the memory of his predecessor, wrote a great Gospel-book, which has since by tradition and otherwise become very famous as the Lindisfarne or St. Cuthbert's Gospels, or the Durham Book. It was finished about 700, and is written on 258 leaves of vellum in large folio. The text is St. Jerome's version of the New Testament, like that of the Book of Kells, which MS. the illuminator of the Lindisfarne Gospels appears to have seen and imitated. It differs, however, in some important points. From a gloss, or note, in the book itself it appears that, notwithstanding what has been said about its various artists, etc., the whole credit of the internal execution of the work belongs to Eadfrith. His successor Aethelwold had it sumptuously bound in covers, for which the anchoret Bilfrith made the fine goldsmithwork. Each gospel has with the title, *in golden letters*, the symbol of its author—"Mattheus, imago hominis," "Marcus, imago leonis," "Lucas, imago vituli," "Johannes, imago aquilae." The first page of each Gospel, and the *Liber Generationis* in St. Matthew, and that of the first preface, on pages 2, 26, 28, 94, 138, and 210, are in large letters of most elaborate forms with borders and other ornaments, and on a separate leaf in front of each Gospel and the first preface is painted a full-page ornamental design constructed on the form of a cross. The Eusebian canons are placed under arcades, or between richly decorated pillars spanned by arches. The motive of the ornament is the same as in the Book of Kells. The colouring is mostly bright, of a light tint, and thickly laid on. The artist had certainly seen some Roman or Byzantine Gospel-book, by which he essayed to profit, but being hitherto accustomed to Irish work, only adopted the arcade and its ornaments, the realistic portrait miniatures, and the use of gold on these in a restricted way. All the remaining figures of men and beasts are still treated as pure ornament, a proof that though the work is executed under Saxon influence, it is not yet true Saxon. The large letters are usually surrounded by a single or double fringe of red dots, while blue lions or green men are not yet felt to be offensively unnatural. On the paler colours of the border frames are placed triads of white dots, which are sometimes also scattered over the plain surfaces. The figures of the evangelists are evidently taken, not from the Book of Kells, but from some book executed in the South of Europe. Until the dissolution of the monasteries this famous MS. was kept at Lindisfarne and Durham. It is

now in the British Museum (Cotton MSS., Nero D. iv) and has often been described.¹ This volume is one of the first which show the contact of Irish with Byzantine miniature art. The books brought in 596 to Canterbury by Augustine were most probably a combination of Roman figure painting and architectural detail, with Byzantine gold and jewel-work. Possibly the British Museum MS. Add. 5111, may give some idea of the style of these books which, according to a list still preserved in Trinity College, Cambridge, consisted of "a Bible in two volumes, a Psalter, a Gospel-book, a Martyrology, Apocrypha, Lives of the Apostles, and an exposition of certain Gospels and Epistles." The catalogue closes with the words "these are the foundations of the whole English Church, A.D. 601." The monastery founded at Canterbury by St. Augustine was dedicated to Saints Peter and Paul, but afterwards it became universally known by its appellation of St. Augustine's. Being the first of English religious houses of Roman origin, it obtained rare and special privileges. The abbot took his place in general councils next to the abbot of Monte Cassino, the first Benedictine house in Europe, and the monastery itself was recognized as being under the immediate jurisdiction of Rome. As to the books, the Bible was written on purple and rose-coloured vellum with rubricated initials, and was carefully preserved down to the reign of James I. It was Westwood's opinion in 1845 that the purple Latin Gospels of the British Museum, Roy. MS. I. E. vi. was one of the identical volumes sent by St. Gregory, but Sir M. D. Wyatt afterwards pointed out that this MS. contained too many genuine Saxon features to permit that supposition. It may, however, have been a Saxon copy of it.

The two Psalters have disappeared. Some have thought the Cottonian MS. Vesp. A. i (Brit. Mus.) to be one of them, but this opinion too has been shown to be untenable.² They may perhaps have been executed by artists from Rome, assisted by native English converts; hence the mixture

¹ THOMPSON and WARNER, *Catalogue of Ancient Latin MSS. in the British Museum*. WAAGEN, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, i, 36. ASTLE, *The origin and progress of Writing*, 2 ed., pl. xiv. SHAW, *Illuminated Ornaments*, pl. ii. HUMPHREYS, *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages*, pl. 1. WESTWOOD, *Facsimiles*, pl. xii, xiii. *Palæographical Society's Publications*, pl. 3-6, 22. F. W. UNGER, *Irish Ornament, etc.*, in *Revue Celtique*, i.

² Modern facsimiles of a page and single letters from this MS. occur in the library collection, nos. 7355, 7442-44. A cut from one of the miniatures is given in GREEN, *A short History of the English People*, p. 64. London, 1892.

of styles. It is a curious fact that Vesp. A. 1 combines the brushwork method of Imperial Roman times as seen in the Vatican Vergils, etc., and the calligraphic peculiarities of the Celtic Gospel-books. Some venerable fragments are preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. They are written in black ink, with an occasional use of minium. Of the actual illumination only two mutilated pages remain, one containing the figure of St. Luke seated beneath an arched portico in the manner of the diptychs, the other a number of square storiottes as in the Cottonian Genesis or Arundel Psalter 83, separated by a red line ruling, like that of some of the later Byzantine MSS.

During the century that elapsed between the coming of St. Augustine and the production of the St. Cuthbert Gospels, many zealous Christian travellers had brought their treasures of beautiful books. One of these now exists in the splendid Latin Gospels not long ago transferred from the Hamilton Library to the collection of Mr. Quaritch. A facsimile and description of this venerable relic is given in the sale catalogue.¹ It is supposed by Wattenbach to have been executed for St. Wilfrid, archbishop of York (670-80), but most probably was written about the middle of the eighth century. Our space forbids us to enlarge on the acquisitions of Benedict Biscop, Wilfrid, Theodore, and others, but the effect of the quantity of Greek and Latin books, both classical and theological, thus acquired was the rapid formation of a specific native school of miniature. Taking the Irish details as the first motives of the decoration, the native calligraphist, we cannot yet call him a painter, as he seems scarcely to have used the brush, attempts boldly to imitate or to suggest with the pen the broad brushwork of the miniatures of these foreign books, and while thus becoming thoroughly emancipated from the barbaric usage of earlier periods—common alike to Britain, Ireland, Gaul, and Spain—of employing the living figure as a symmetrical piece of ornament, he succeeded in producing such characteristic pen-drawing as we see in the Bodley Cædmon and the Utrecht Psalter. Many were the English foundations, where the scriptoria were of primary importance, from Maildulf's Burig or Malmesbury, the favourite retreat of St. Aldhelm, to Llancarvan, where, in 519, St. David had founded a notable school of calligraphy, and where Gildas the Wise used to

¹ *Catalogue of MSS. on vellum, chiefly from the famous Hamilton collection, etc.*, pp. 1-4. 1889. Two pages are reproduced in facsimile in B. QUARITCH, *Examples of the Art of Book-Illumination during the Middle Ages*. London, 1889.

lecture until the troubles caused by the "dragons of Germany" compelled him to retire. The great scriptorium at York was also one of the busiest, and its library one of the richest in the land. Cahier in his notes on *Mediaeval Libraries*,¹ gives a list of the principal works once belonging to the library founded or enlarged by St. Wilfrid. The five journeys to Rome made by St. Benedict Biscop enriched the monastery at Wearmouth, and made it towards the end of the sixth century a most important centre of learning. Exeter, Oxford, Gloucester, St. Alban's, Westminster, and other places rapidly added to the growing wealth of books until in the eighth century England was looked upon as the very home of literary culture. It has been bitterly said that the zeal of SS. Benedict Biscop, Wilfrid, Aldhelm, and the rest only resulted in collecting the valuable spoil of other countries into English monasteries in order that, at one stroke, the Danes might annihilate civilization. But after the severest losses inflicted by those demons of barbarism England was never without books or without the arts, the constant exercise of which
emollit mores, nec sinit esse ferus.

From first to last it has been calculated that the ferocious savages of the North demolished no fewer than 50 monastic houses with all they contained. Buckingham² and Cahier³ give the list of their names.

Turning to the other side of this picture, as some set-off to the destruction caused by the Norsemen we find monasteries founded by Irish missionaries in all directions. The more noted of the foundations begun by these men were carefully furnished with scriptoria as essential to their system. Those commenced by St. Columbanus (who must not be confounded with St. Columba) at Luxeuil and Bobbio, by St. Gall at St. Gall, by St. Boniface and St. Kilian at Würzburg, by St. Fridolin at Chur, and by St. Cataldus at Tarentum, and many others, were thus furnished and always kept busily at work. These houses were the founders of others, so that in Italy, Switzerland, Germany, France, and the Netherlands the remains of Irish art are exceedingly numerous. By the concentration of various collections, Irish manuscripts are found where the traveller would scarcely expect to meet with them, as in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, the

¹ In CAHIER and MARTIN, *Nouveaux Mélanges d'Archéologie*, I, p. 55, note 7. Paris, 1877.

² *The Bible in the Middle Ages*, p. 279. London, 1853.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 56.

University Library of Turin, and the Royal Library at Naples, as well as in collections, such as the Abbey Library of St. Gall, which have never been dispersed. Irish MSS. occur more sparsely at Schaffhausen, where in the minister's library is kept a specially fine copy of Adamnan's Life of St. Columba of c. 700 A.D., and at Trèves, Zurich, and Basle. The student who wishes to pursue the study of this peculiar style of calligraphy will find ample materials in one or other of the following works, some of which have been already referred to :—

Celtic Ornaments from the Book of Kells. *Autotypes*. Dublin, 1892-94.

WESTWOOD, J. O.—Facsimiles of the Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish Manuscripts. *Chromo-lithogr.* London, 1868.

HUMPHREYS, H. N.—The Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages. *Chromo-lithogr.* London, 1844-49.

KELLER, F.—Illuminations and facsimiles from Irish Manuscripts in the Libraries of Switzerland. (Translated from the German by W. REEVES.) 5 (3 *chromo-lithogr.* In The Ulster Journal of Archæology, vol. 8. Belfast, 1860.

O'NEILL, H.—The Fine Arts and Civilization of ancient Ireland. (Chap. VII. Illuminated Manuscripts.) London, 1863.

WEIDMANN, F.—Geschichte der Bibliothek von St. Gallen. St. Gallen, 1841.

UNGER, F. W.—On Irish Ornament, in *Revue Celtique*, I, 12. Paris, 1870.

LAMPRECHT, K.—Initial-Ornamentik des VIII. bis XIII. Jahrhunderts. 44 *lithogr.* Leipzig, 1882. Gives a very full list of Celtic and Carolingian MSS.

KELLER, F.—Bilder und Schriftzüge in den Irischen Manuscripten der Schweizerischen Bibliotheken. *Lithogr.* Zürich, 1851.

WATTENBACH, W.—In *Zeitschrift für Christliche Archäologie und Kunst*, I, 21-49. Leipzig, 1856.

GILBERT, J. T.—Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Ireland. *Photo-zincogr. and chromo-lithogr.* 3 vols. in 5. Dublin, 1874-84.

STOKES, Margaret.—Early Christian Art in Ireland. *Cuts.* London, 1887.

CHARACTERISTICS OF CELTIC ILLUMINATION.

FIGURE.—Always more or less symbolic. Either treated as pure ornament and made symmetrical and decorative, or simply barbaric, like the drawing of the Polynesian islanders. The colouring also barbaric, or as part of a system of pattern decoration.

LANDSCAPE.—Not attempted. The calligraphic artist confined himself to symbolic action by symbolised rather than natural personages. A few animals sometimes introduced, but no trees or other objects of external Nature.

ORNAMENT.—Purely constructive and mainly calligraphic. The designs consist of plaited band and knot work, in imitation of weaving; and of spirals, bosses, etc., in imitation of fine metal-work. Contorted and attenuated forms of animals, natural and mythological, are introduced and combined with the bandwork. Among recognizable forms are those of the serpent, dog, eagle, dove, etc. The various elements are combined into all kinds of rhythmical or symmetrical patterns most faultlessly executed. The initial letters are generally finished with marginal rows of red dots, and the frame panels arranged in well-balanced and often sweetly coloured compartments.

TECHNIC.—The execution chiefly consists in pen work in black or coloured inks. The bands and frames are painted in various colours, often harmoniously arranged. The colours, usually, are *paled* green, red, violet and yellow, intense black, and white, but *no gold*. The red is sometimes clear and deep. The vehicle or medium is firm and smooth, but less viscid than the Byzantine. The various colours, though often *paled* with white, are clear and permanent.

MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING EXAMPLES OF IRISH CALLIGRAPHY,
OR OF IRISH IN COMBINATION WITH OTHER WORK.

Name.	Location.	Date.	Remarks.
Book of Kells (Gospels).	Trinity Coll., Dublin.	7th cent.	Marvellous execution of penwork. Bold uncial writing.
Book of Durrow (Gospels).	" "	" "	Traditionally ascribed to St. Columba. Date probably before 718. "Trumpet coils."

Name.	Location.	Date.	Remarks.
Leabhair Dimma.	Trinity Coll., Dublin.	7th cent.	Dimma said to have lived about 634.
Gospels of St. Columba.	" " "	" "	
Gospels of St. Arnoul of Metz. ¹	German Mus., Nuremberg.	6th or 7th cent.	Very fine example of calligraphic ornament.
The Life of St. Columba by Adamnan.	Minist. Libr., Schaffhausen.	7th or 8th cent.	A very important MS., came from Reichenau.
St. Columba on the Psalms, with glosses.	Ambros. Libr., Milan.	7th—9th cent.	The glosses probably later than the text.
Gospel-book of St. Boniface.	Abb. Libr., Fulda.	7th cent.	Purely Celtic. Symbolic figures.
Book of St. Columban.	Roy. Libr., Naples.	" "	
Bible of St. Kilian.	Cath. Libr., Würzburg.	8th cent.	Curious "Crucifixion."
Psalter.	Brit. Mus. Cotton. Vesp. A. 1.	" "	Anglo-Celtic. Arched frame.
Gospel Book of Thomas Abbot of Hanau.	Pub. Libr., Trèves.	" "	Signed "Thomas scribit."
Gospels of Mac Regol.	Bodl. Libr., Oxford.	9th cent.	A fine example. See WESTWOOD, pl. 16.
Book of Armagh (Gospels).	Roy. Irish Academy.	" "	Writing small and delicate, by Ferdomnach, died 844. Notable page, p. 103.
Gospels of Maelbrith-MacDurnan.	Archiep. Libr., Lambeth.	" "	
The Stowe Missal.	Trin. Coll., Dublin.	8th or 9th cent.	Not all of same date. Similar to Book of Armagh.
Gospels of St. Chad.	Cath. Libr., Lichfield.	8th or 9th cent.	
The Garland of Howth (Gospels).	Trin. Coll., Dublin.	7th cent.	Interlacings only. No spirals.
Lindisfarne Gospels.	Brit. Mus., Nero D. IV.	" "	Mostly Celtic, but by English artist.
Bede's Psalter.	Cath. Libr., Durham.	8th cent.	Anglo-Celtic, but realistic figures.
Canons of the Council of 684.	Pub. Libr., Cambray.	" "	Dated 763.
Antiphony or Hymnal.		9th or 10th cent.	Ancient Irish ritual, before 12th cent.
Chronicle of Marianus Scotus.	Vatican, Palat. 830.	11th cent.	
Various fragments.	Roy. Libr., Turin.		

¹ Described in M. STOKES, *Early Christian Art in Ireland*, pt. I, pp. 43-48.

Many others might be named, but the uncertainty of their dates renders their study less valuable than that of those given above. The Bobbio MSS. are now in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. Many Irish MSS. also, or at least MSS. showing strong Irish influence, are kept in the Library of St. Gall and at Monte Cassino.

MEROVINGIAN, VISIGOTHIC, AND LOMBARD MINIATURE
ART.

The reign of Dagobert (622-638) saw the last departing rays of Roman civilization in Gaul. He must have been a king of far more than ordinary ability, who, notwithstanding the lavish dissipation of his life, could vigorously rule a kingdom so large and so varied in its elements. In 622 he succeeded to the throne of Austrasia, the German portion of the imperial territories; in 628, on the death of his father, to Neustria the Frankish portion; and in 631 to Aquitaine the Roman. Whilst viceroy of Austrasia he had the guidance of Pepin of Landen, duke of that kingdom and mayor of the Palace, and Arnoul of Metz was his spiritual adviser. All writers speak of the splendour in which he lived, of his three queens and numberless mistresses, his magnificent progresses, grand edifices, and rich endowments, and the markets, arts, trades, and manufactures that flourished under his protection. From 631 to 638 his kingdom extended from the Pyrenees to the Elbe, and from the Atlantic to the frontiers of Hungary and Bohemia. The Abbey of St. Denis owes its foundation to his liberality, whilst the arts are represented by St. Eloi, and literature by St. Gregory of Tours, the historian, and Venantius Fortunatus, the hymnologist.

At this period and earlier, there existed schools of calligraphy, which, however no longer exhibited any traces of classic influence. The barbaric tastes of the degenerate or illiterate clergy now only effected the simplest and most childish attempts at ornament in their rude efforts of penmanship. Very few and only the highest grades of the clergy were really men of much literary culture, and fewer still those who were capable of any production that can honestly be called artistic. In the Library of Laon is a MS. of the Natural history of Isidore of Seville, written in the seventh century, which forms a point of reference both for literature and art. The work is a kind of cyclopædia in Latin, and deals with physical astronomy, meteorology, volcanoes, etc. It was a popular treatise, and we must suppose the present copy to have been entrusted to as capable an artist as could be found. Of course we may be mistaken in this conjecture, and for the sake of the art we sincerely hope so. The sample of initials afforded by M. Fleury's plates of the

Isidore and Orosius cited in his work¹ are of the kind dignified by the Benedictine palæographers with the name ichthyomorphous (*ichthiomorphiques*) and ornithoidal (*ornithoëides*), that is fish-formed and bird-shaped, and very rough indeed. "The colour of the ornamented letters," says Fleury, "is coarsely ground, and unevenly laid on, either owing to the inability of the artist's pencil or to the imperfect preparation of the parchment, which remained greasy and failed to hold the colour." He thinks it mainly owing to inexperience and want of skill in the artist, which is doubtless the truth. The beautiful round uncial letters of the fifth and sixth centuries, which appear in the Psalter of St. Germain and other MSS. now in the Nat. Libr., Paris,² are here roughly transformed into half uncials much less shapely. As to the ornamented initials, some are gaily coloured, but all are barbaric. One feature that these MSS. possess in common with Celtic, is the interlacements or weaving patterns, but they are far inferior in skill of execution.³ M. Fleury's opinion on the origin of these interlacements is given further on, in speaking of Carolingian art. The colours used in this Merovingian art are a dull red, violet, yellow, and green. The Orosius (*liber Orosii presbyteri ad Augustinum episcopum historiarum contra accusatores Christianorum*) is another MS. contemporary or nearly so with the grand Dagobert and his lavish splendour. It does not say much for the cultivated taste of the period. Birds like stuffed sea-gulls, with staring eyes and glaring plumage, artificially coloured to suit the fancy of the calligraphist, unwieldy dogs, curious doves, fishes with scales of the most brilliant colours and patterns, and foliage the intention of which is far in advance of the execution, constitute the ornamentation. The outline of the four evangelist design given by Fleury shows the still popular symbolism of the four beasts. It is a curious fact that in the colouring of these MSS. *blue* is entirely wanting. Here the colours are green, brown, red, yellow, and black. They are better ground and better managed than in the preceding, but are still greasy-looking and badly laid on. Though found in a library so far north as Laon it is not impossible that the Isidore, or even both these MSS., may have been executed in Visigothic schools. At any

¹ *Les Manuscrits à Miniatures de la Bibliothèque de Laon*, pl. 1-3. Laon, 1863.

² WAILLY, *Éléments de Paléographie*, vol. II, pl. 2. Paris, 1838.

³ F. DENIS, *Histoire de l'Ornementation des Manuscrits*, p. 44. Paris, 1880.

rate, the same features are to be seen in Visigothic work. The bird and fish forms have also been claimed as Lombardic. All this shows either imperfect study, or a general similarity of taste among these races, which points to a certain consanguinity of origin. Examples are too rare to admit of much classification, and their value too insignificant to make minute classification of any use. The opinion that by assigning the barbaric element to the pre-historic period of Aryan life, we account for the similar ideas of ornament affords so plausible an explanation that until a better is given we may accept it as the true one. The question for the scientific historian to answer is, why had they no blue colour? In much early German illumination the blue is often either violaceous or slaty. In later times the German chemists first produced the ferrocyanide blues, but the Orientals and Italians had ultramarine in very early use. It is peculiarly noticeable in later works that blue became quite a distinctive characteristic of French, as distinct from German, in which the favourite colour was green. Scarlet was much fancied by the early Sienese illuminators, as it was by the Netherlands, and it would seem as if sometimes the use of certain colours depended more upon what the artist could get to use than upon any specially selective choice. This must have been the case with the Irish, Merovingian, and Visigothic calligraphists, whose palette was never too richly provided. But as a rule, with the Celts as with the Egyptians, their colours if few were pure and carefully prepared, and, what is still more important to us, they were permanent. It is a lesson to the modern illuminator that, with so small a choice, these ancient artists could produce such harmonious results. Viollet-le-Duc, when speaking of the glass-painting of the fourteenth century in France, gives a list of the glass enamels, and hints for preventing the radiating of tints into each other. The illuminators and glass painters seem to have made use of similar canons of procedure, and the former were to a great extent the tutors of the latter.

V

THE FORMATION AND VARIETIES OF CAROLINGIAN
ILLUMINATIONS.

Having seen Irish calligraphy carried into so many of the religious foundations of Western Europe, we are prepared to find that a similar result followed in every case. Whatever books proceeded from these establishments now added the well-known Irish features of penmanship to every existing style. Just as Lindisfarne and Malmesbury created the Celto-Romanesque, and York, Canterbury, and Westminster the Celto-Byzantine, if the distinction can be drawn in the few relics still extant, so abroad we at once meet with Franco-Celtic or Franco-Saxon. As the circles of production widen, the various elements become more and more interfused and commingled, until eventually a style justly entitled to independent recognition makes its appearance, characteristic of its epoch, and from which we cannot withhold its true designation of Carolingian. If we examine its structure we may see that it consists of all the features of the cultured calligraphy of the West and South; it owes much to Byzantium, much also to the practice of Iona and Northumbria. It possesses also some features of native art, which under the name of Merovingian and Visigothic had attempted to exercise the barbaric energy of the Frankish or Visigothic artist upon the classic material left by the civilizers of Gaul. If we look into such MSS. as the Sacramentary of Gellone, we cannot but feel that art had not much lower to sink in order to become utterly extinguished. That MS. may be said to mark a struggle towards a better state of things. It is the beginning of a revival which is known as the Carolingian Renaissance. Every young nation has its own peculiar proclivity as regards art. Hence we meet with grotesque but well-intentioned and even vigorous monstrosities swollen with symbolism which in Western Europe are put forward as Visigothic, or Burgundian, or Suabian, or Lombardic, according to locality. Historically and archæologically these remains are full of interest, artistically they are mostly full of unalleviated ugliness. Writers who do not keep in view the true object of the study of miniature are apt to speak with injudicious praise of some of these wretched things which Fortune, with blind unconcern or

too impartial justice, has preserved among the art witnesses of the past. They are not proven to be the highest art of their epoch, but they are all we have, and hence their archæological value. It is useless to speak of the Sacramentary of Gellone as a beautiful fragment of calligraphy or a fine example of Carolingian illumination. It is nothing of the kind. It is a valuable relic of liturgical usage, and an interesting memento of an historical event, but it is a hideous thing to hold up to the admiration of an art student. Let the student set before himself the often reproduced crucifixion from this famous MS., compare it with the Book of Kells or the Lindisfarne Gospels as calligraphy, and pass by its deformities as pictorial art, and he may obtain a fair estimate of the relative art capacity of the Celtic and Visigothic penman. The MS. was once in the library of a monastery at Toulouse when that city was the Visigothic capital. Some of its features are quite different from the Celtic, being taken from living forms rather than from geometrical patterns. Certain Irish details are based on snakes, dogs, eagles, and various symbolic animals. The Visigothic symbolic animals are mostly birds and fishes. Both Celtic and Visigothic artists made use of the old weaving patterns and interlacements. As to the Spanish variety of Visigothic, if we may judge from the precious codex Vigilanus¹ of a later time, we shall probably recognize some strong traces of the pictorial models of our ordinary playing-cards, but no native art that would ever push its way to the front without external help. Half even of what there is has sprung from a Roman source. And so it is in the kingdoms of Dagobert, Theodoric, or Clotaire. Native artists are trained and appointed by foreign abbots to copy, it may be, Byzantine models, or enthusiastic native abbots themselves boldly venture on the artistic task, and, destitute of the profound technical training of the Byzantine practitioners, attempt to render ideas really beyond their comprehension. Such MSS. as the Laon Orosius and the Gellone Sacramentary are the result. We need dwell no longer on these barbaric efforts. Let it suffice to examine them as to their principles or systems of colour and motives of ornament, and to find out how far the same ideas occur to different tribes of mankind apart from direct intercourse, or only by development, under different

¹ J. FERNANDEZ MONTAÑA, *El códice Albeldense ó Vigilano*, in *Museo Español de Antigüedades*, III, 509-544. This MS. is now preserved in the Library of the Escorial. It was written by Vigila, monk of Albelda, in the tenth century.

surroundings, of the same germ. We have thus questioned the *Isidore* in the library of Laon, and know the elements out of which its ornamentation was constructed. We have found the usual fish forms and fishy birds, the bird-headed serpents of initials and headings, and a few instances of full and profile leaf-work. Whether the latter was the outcome of mere linear experiment or the direct imitation of nature is not very clear.

But there is no true miniature art. There is, it is true, a liberal use of colour, but no great variety of colours. The execution is rough and ineffectual, without delicacy and without finish. It was M. Fleury's opinion that the interlacements were merely the remains of Roman design picked up by the Merovingian artists from the mosaics of Blanz, Bazoches, and other places. The use of red and yellow ochres, a dull purple and a pale green, which seems to be a choice, may have been a compulsion. It may seem of little moment, but in view of its contributing towards the explanation of points which are now obscure in this subject, it may be useful to warn the student to make colour lists a part of his notes when studying different schools. The use of certain colours and materials often points out particular localities, and in some cases may even indicate individual artists.

Let us now pass on to an example denoting a considerable advance on those hitherto noticed, a MS. executed expressly for presentation to the Emperor Charles the Great, if only to show what could be effected by the study of good models in adapting the local taste to the monastic methods imported from Italy. We have seen from the Vienna *Dioscorides*, compared with the British Museum fragment of the *Eusebian canons*, what was most probably the character and appearance of the volume sent by Justinian to Pope Hormisdas, for they were executed within a few years of the same time. But between these and the *Evangelary of St. Sernin*—the MS. now referred to—there lies a space of almost two centuries, during which period much intercourse had taken place between the Eastern capital and Rome, Ravenna, Pavia, Milan, and various French cities. The result was naturally a much greater intimacy with Byzantine miniature painting and its methods on the part of the illuminators of the West. Quite a richly foliated frame work, surpassing even the really artistic borders of the finest Celtic MSS., is now seen surrounding the splendid writing, and enclosing the less successful miniatures. The example usually reproduced as a

specimen of the present MS. is the figure of Christ enthroned, holding a Gospel-book in his left hand, his right raised in the act of benediction according to the formula of the Western Church. But this miniature is not an adequate specimen of the artist's best work, which lies not in the figure painting, but in the writing and ornamentation. It is clear at once that the inspiring model of the picture is Byzantine. Even a considerable part of the Byzantine technic has been employed upon it. There are Celtic elements still perceptible in the border frames, some indeed absolutely identical with those of the Book of Kells, and Celtic influence may be recognised in the drawing of the features. But the figure itself is a distinct attempt at the representation of a real personage and not of a symmetrical ornament. It is draped in a green tunic and purple cloak, and seated on a richly cushioned *sellu*, behind which is a low castellated wall reaching nearly to the shoulders. The back-ground above is occupied partly by a wall, apparently of porporino, on which are inscribed the monograms I H S,¹ and X P S. On the top of the wall are growing flowers, against a greenish grey sky. The figure, the seat and its cushion resemble those of the consular diptychs; the drapery is also designed after the same models. The hair is blonde, and the chin beardless. Surrounding the head is a large circular nimbus, on which is placed a red cross with black outlines, and an inlaid ornament of gems, possibly intended to represent a diamond and four pearls. The outline of the nimbus is a double ring of white filled in with white pearlings. This particular border is rather plain; some of the others are much more richly covered with really tasteful patterns.² The date of this MS. being known, enables us to ascertain its exact position as a monument of the art now under our notice. It was completed between 778 and 781, to the order of King Charles the Great, crowned emperor in 800, and his wife Hildegardis, and was afterwards given by them to the monastery of St. Saturninus, or Sernin, of Toulouse, on the occasion of a visit with their son Louis, just made King of Aquitaine. Godescalc, or Gottschalck, who was entrusted with its execution, tells us in an inscription on

¹ This is the contraction of the Greek word ΙΗΣΟΥΣ, *Jesus*, not *In hoc signo*, as explained by Dr. Waagen.

² For reproductions see TAYLOR, NODIER, etc., *Voyages pittoresques dans l'ancienne France*. Languedoc, pl. 12²–12⁴, Paris, 1833. LOUANDRE, *Les Arts Somptuaires*, I, 17–22; III, 78. Paris, 1852–58. CURMER, *Les Evangiles des Dimanches et Fêtes*, pp. 97–100. Paris, 1864. DU SOMMERARD, *Les Arts au Moyen-âge*, Album, série 7, pl. 39, 40. Paris, 1838–46.

the last two leaves that it took seven years to complete. It is written entirely in letters of gold and silver on purple vellum, and enriched with miniatures. Formerly it was enclosed in a jewelled shrine or *cumdach* of silver set with precious stones, after the fashion of the Irish Gospel-books. That shrine has long since disappeared; but some idea of its splendour may be gathered from the extant *cumdachs*, and from the bindings of such volumes as the Evangeliary of St. Emmeran at Munich and those of Monza and Aachen.¹

During the Revolution the MS. was stolen from the monastery, and after being stripped of its valuable covers was thrown aside to be sold as waste. Accidentally discovered in this shape by the Baron de Puymaurin, it was rescued and sent to Paris, where it was rebound in silk velvet and returned to Toulouse. Here it remained among the treasures of the Cathedral Library until 1811, when it was presented as a baptismal gift to the young son of Napoleon. The Emperor placed it in the Musée des Souverains, whence it passed into the National Library. It is now numbered 1993 (nouv. acquisit. Lat.).

Undoubtedly the St. Sernin Gospel-book is a great advance on its predecessors in France. Let us briefly see how this came about. Had it not been for a small section of society, which still kept alive the old Roman culture, the rapid changes in society produced by the various barbarian inroads would undoubtedly have succeeded in reducing the invaded sections of the Roman empire to a state of utter intellectual darkness. The preservers of culture were mostly men of Roman descent who had embraced the ecclesiastical state, and in order to maintain their position the more effectually had formed themselves into religious communities. It is a curious and important synchronism that while Justinian was reviving the splendour of Roman arms and political life in the East, Saint Benedict was creating the great religious foundation of Monte Cassino, which was to become the preceptrix of the West in religious literature and art. Such was its fame within the lifetime of the founder that most of the existing communities were eager to adopt its rule; and by the eighth century a number of busy offshoots were not merely continuing but striving anxiously to increase and disseminate its practical teachings as the basis of the new Christian civilisation.

¹ A fine engraving of the Emmeran MS. cover, may be seen in SANFTL, *Dissertatio in aureum ac pervetustum SS. Evangeliorum Codicem MS. Monasterii S. Emmerani*, tab. i, p. 29, Ratisbonae, 1786. Tabula II gives an example of the initials and writing, and tab. III a reproduction of the portrait miniature of Charles the Bald, enthroned.

Most opportune to this effort was the accession of Charles the Great. His personal sympathies, apart from his great military enterprises, or perhaps in concert with them, were all on the side of order, security, and progress, guided by an almost superstitious regard for religious approval and co-operation. By the invitation to his court of men like Alcuin of York, Paul Warnefrid of Pavia, and Theodulph of Fleury, he put the practical execution of his schemes upon the very safest lines to ensure their success. Thus schools were founded, scriptoria multiplied and kept incessantly occupied on all kinds of literary productions, particularly in the form of portions of the Holy Scriptures; and in the practice of calligraphy and miniature. Outside the elementary schools were select collegiate foundations, in which the useful arts, and even abstract sciences were carefully taught. Mathematics and architecture as well as grammar, logic, rhetoric, and poetry were brought up to the highest possible level of efficiency. Like Justinian and Basil, Charles the Great had a truly regal taste for magnificent edifices; and Aix-la-Chapelle or Aachen, Ingelheim, and Nimeguen witnessed the erection of palaces in which the spoils of Ravenna, Milan, and Pavia were used to enrich the architecture or adorn the walls. By the encouragement of the Pope, Roman architects sought employment under the great Frankish monarch, and painters, goldsmiths, and penmen found ready admission into the workshops superintended by the Frankish Churchmen. This was therefore a real Renaissance both of learning and the arts, but owing to circumstances which could not be then readily altered, it was but partial as regards the particular art of MS. ornamentation. The difference between illumination and miniature painting is here placed in strong relief, for while illumination is revived in the West, miniature, with respect to the human figure, at least, is neglected and even unconsciously discouraged. For Charles the Great was on the side of the Iconoclasts. Though not an image breaker himself, he was strongly opposed to the admission of images (sacred statues and pictures) into the churches. Hence the anti-pagan objection to the nude, enforced in monastic ateliers, led rapidly to a condition of ignorance of the true outline and anatomy of the figure—so excellently understood by the Greeks through their athletic outdoor life—which for a long time rendered pure figure subjects pitifully incorrect and childish. The old Greek life, with its favourable climatic conditions, had been a school of the finest type, but it was, in monastic ideas,

so allied to pagan impurity, that it was too dangerous to be imitated, even apart from the prohibition of a Northern sky.

Greek artists, it is true, could draw and mould the figure as no later artists ever have done. The monastic principle, while perhaps imperatively necessary to the Christian life, nevertheless led to the worst possible artistic results, to the most incompetent drawing, and the very antithesis of beautiful form. But as regards the mere practice of book decoration in gold and colours the Carolingian revival stands out as a distinct epoch of Mediæval Illumination. Celtic book ornament is calligraphy, pure and simple, the work of the penman only. Merovingian, or Germanic, as it might be called in connexion with its closely related styles Visigothic and Lombard, is penmanship combined with a certain approach to miniature painting and naturalism. Celto-Saxon also certainly aims at actual or historic in addition to symbolic representation without neglecting the calligraphy and the ornament. Now, however, every element that until this time had found its way into book ornament is pressed into requisition, and the whole welded by high artistic ability into a harmonious unity already superior to its immediate constituents, and destined in the course of another hundred years to become absolutely the most beautiful form of decoration hitherto accomplished. It is not difficult to analyse. The handwriting has been thoroughly remodelled. In place of the rudely formed and illegible Germanic, the Latin inscription alphabet has been modified by combination with uncial forms into a hand hereafter to be called Carolingian minuscule. A combination also of capitals and uncials as used in the contemporary Saxon of England is employed. One peculiarity that had been growing from early Merovingian times, and used in the "signum Dagoberti regis,"¹ was a fancy for inclaving or inletting and combining letters for the sake of brevity, which had created the now favourite form of the monogram. Apart from this the Carolingian writing is exceedingly plain, bold, and legible, and adapts itself most readily to the richer ornament now imported into calligraphy. Then with respect to the borders and ornaments generally, while the Byzantine style was developed out of the Romanesque of Italy by the appropriation of Oriental features, a certain parallel modification seems to have taken

¹ In the "Privilegium Dagoberti I. pro Monasterio S. Maximini Trevirensis." See BARING, *Clavis Diplomatica, etc.*, p. 242. Hanoveræ, 1737.

place in Sicily and Italy by which the native Romanesque is more or less tinged with Saracenic, or what was afterwards so termed, so that it grows, under Greek, Ostro-Gothic and Lombard auspices, into a style neither purely Italic nor sufficiently changed to be considered other than Romanesque, yet so modified as to cause considerable ambiguity in matters of detail. The influence of this Italic style on Frankish and Saxon ornament is therefore attributed by some writers directly to the Byzantine, by others to the Romanesque. It is almost a distinction without a difference, for while, in the gradual alteration of Irish calligraphy into English illumination, the *opus Anglicum* as it has been called, the Roman arch and some elements of ornament are discernible, it should be remembered that the arcade is a prominent feature of Byzantine, and the introduction of gold and silver distinctly due to that form of art in the books sent from time to time to Rome and other cities from Constantinople. These books were widely known and appreciated, for a Byzantine chronicler tells us that Belisarius, after his final victory over the Vandals, found among the spoils of Gelimer certain Gospel-books splendidly written and glittering with gold and all kinds of precious gems.¹ And similar books, 50 or 60 years after the death of Belisarius, were given by the famous Lombard Queen Theodelinda, the wife of Agilulf and friend of Gregory the Great, to the Baptistery at Monza. Indeed the covers of the Gospel-book, still preserved in the Cathedral treasury, and known as the Evangeliarium of Monza, are the oldest jewelled book-covers in existence. They consist of plaques of gold, enriched with gems and antique cameos. Besides these occasional gifts, many precious volumes were brought or sent to England and France directly from the Eastern capital. In the British Museum is a Gospel-book (Roy. MS. I. E. VI) attributed to the seventh century. It is a rich purple vellum MS., with arcaded frames to the miniatures of the Evangelists. The headings to the pilasters, however, are not capitals in the architectural sense, but circlets, showing that they are copied from book-work and not from buildings. In this particular they resemble the Stockholm Gospels, and therefore other Franco-Saxon work. In the minor details are portions of Irish bandwork and zigzags, but besides this in some of the pilasters are foliages manifestly copied from similar foliages of a better class, for while they catch the general character of leafage they miss

¹ ZONARAS, *Chronicon*, tom. III, f. 95, col. 3.

the special points of symmetry and balance, found in the early stonework, and afterwards attained in the Winchester Benedictionals. This British Museum MS. is one of the earliest of northern execution in which the identical foliage ornament occurs which had reached Italy in the preceding century. What was its origin? It is known that the abbey of St. Medard at Soissons, founded by Clotaire I. in 560 was built in the Byzantine style, as used in the new church of San Vitale at Ravenna. This abbey was soon one of the busiest and most famous in France for the production of books. And whilst no doubt the venerable Romanesque church of San Michele at Pavia formed an excellent treasure from which the Frankish illuminators gathered a good deal of ornamental detail, as may be seen in examples executed in the scriptoria of Soissons, Tours, Metz, etc., we see also details which must have been derived from Byzantine models. The Byzantine prefers in the painting of its capitals and pilasters to bring in the Oriental use of gold and colours—the same practice is adopted by the illuminators, who, moreover, prefer the quadrilateral or cubic form of the capital, with its enrichments of pearled bands, as in Byzantine, rather than the ordinary rounded form of the Roman and Romanesque. Byzantine art reached the West again during the tenth century in at least three well-known localities, Sicily by the conquests of Nicephorus Phocas, about 960, Germany by the marriage of the Princess Theophano, daughter of Romanus II. to the Emperor Otho II. in 972, and Venice by the founding of St. Mark's in 976. But it is not necessary to insist on the direct contact of the Franco-Saxon and Carolingian artists with fellow craftsmen from the Eastern Empire. Examples of Byzantine MSS. were well known, and buildings in the Byzantine style were either in existence or were erected for Charles the Great, as already stated, at Aachen, Ingelheim, and Nimeguen, while other places in the Rhineland possessed buildings of the same style. The MSS. show, moreover, what probably was the character of the mural painting of these edifices. In religious subjects the type is that of early Christian art, and in the earlier works the stiffness and inaccuracy of the drawing, the ignorance of composition, and coarseness of colouring betray the still uncultivated hand. The manner nevertheless of laying on the colour and of placing the lights and shades in coarse lines is inherited from the antique. The type of face and of expression, the eyes, the draperies, the gold hatching and greenish shadows, the tendency to use vermillion and a newly

acquired blue without admixture are certainly Byzantine. On the other hand, whilst the glaring disproportions of the figures, the large feet and hands, and minor details (among which are the black and red markings of the features) are native and barbaric, the architectural accessories are of the late Roman character, with a preference, however, for the cubical rather than the cylindrical form of capital, and for massive golden foliages and variegated colours in the shafts. The backgrounds are laid in almost pure paled tints of violet, rose, scarlet, and green.

In the borders, as already pointed out, are elements of ornament derived from various sources and subjects or details gathered apparently from cameos and other sculptures. But the specific characteristic of Carolingian illumination consists in the initial letters. These are productions of the highest decorative skill, directed by artistic taste and culture. Founded on a plan derived from antique motives, the designs comprise the heads of snakes, birds, dogs, lions, and dragons involved with intricate interlacements of Celtic or Germanic invention. Executed in gold and silver, with red outlines or marginal dots, and enriched with beautiful foliages on delicately coloured grounds, chiefly violet or deep purple, these letters are often of an enormous size, and thus are strikingly magnificent in their appearance. Another feature somewhat less emphatic is the doctrinal symbolism never quite absent from any mediæval illumination, and shown here, more especially in the tetramorphic figures of the Evangelists and the famous Fountain of Life, with its beautiful accompaniment of living creatures. We may notice further details, important to the student, from the Gospel-book of St. Sernin. The first two leaves contain the figures of the four Evangelists, sitting on magisterial chairs, on which are placed cylindrical red cushions, the ends of which are richly embroidered. These cushions, as already pointed out, are precisely like those of the consular ivory diptychs. The heads are of the usual type: a longish oval, with large, wide open eyes, strongly arched brow, straight nose, narrow above, broad at the nostrils and tip, and with lips preserving the antique shape and fulness. The Evangelists are all bearded. St. Matthew holds in his right hand a golden stylus, in the left his Gospel. In the upper left corner is the angel

represented as giving the benediction in the Greek manner.¹

St. Mark is just about to write. The Lion crouches beside him in the right lower corner, and the Gospel lies in front on a single-footed desk. St. Luke is similar in design to St. Matthew, but, of course, accompanied by the Ox. St. John dips his pen into an inkstand placed on the top of a desk. Above him, in the left corner, is the Eagle. The whole action is stiff and unskilfully managed; the extremities weak and ill-formed. In the first and fourth, the back-grounds are of antique architecture, rudely executed, and in a slate or dull violet colour. The other two are deep green below and paled blue above, on which are painted stripes of clear violet.

The whole of the succeeding page is taken up with the Christus Iudex, already described, giving the benediction in the Latin mode. The frame border is rectangular and the red lined compartments filled in with a variety of recurrent patterns of a usual kind, those of the upper left and lower right corners being used in the Alcuin Bible now in the British Museum, and in other MSS. Outside this frame is another of gold, thickly outlined in red, with a crutch-shaped projection at each corner. In later examples the corners of the borders are elaborately decorated with branch or band work, or serpentine loops of graceful design. On the *verso* of this same folio is the representation of the Fountain of Life, as a hexagonal cistern under a rich canopy supported by eight slender variegated shafts with golden foliated capitals. Upon the golden pinnacle of the vaulted roof is a heavy Greek cross. In this instance, there is a building behind, a semi-circular edifice, representing the church, on the various cornices of which are perched different kinds of birds to represent the faithful, such as peacocks, cranes, poultry and pigeons. Beneath, on the rocks are deer, a swan, and a stork. The miniature is enclosed in a compartment frame. The sky or background consists of bands of different colours.² Of

¹ With the thumb across the third finger, and curving the index finger so as to form the monogram XP. In the Latin mode the bishop extends the thumb and first two fingers of the right hand, in token of the Trinity and the other two fingers are closed.

² There are fine reproductions in colours of these illuminations in the great work of Count A. DE BASTARD, *Peintures et Ornaments des Manuscrits*. Paris, 1835. Inferior copies or engravings of one or both are given by Lacroix, Molinier, Woltmann, and others, as well as in the works mentioned in note 2, p. 57.

other examples a considerable number is still preserved. If we might refer to one as a central type of the various schools which constitute the Carolingian style, we would select the Gospel-book of St. Médard of Soissons. Knowing that the foundation in which it was executed was originally planned after a Byzantine model, we are not surprised to find in the MS. reminiscences of its Eastern origin. The subjects of the miniatures are much the same as in the St. Sernin Gospels, but the miniature of the Church suggested to Dr. Waagen the Palace of Theodoric at Ravenna, while the Fountain of Life (about which are certain suggestions of the drolleries which appear so frequently in later work) and the sceptre of the Christ are each surmounted by a Greek cross.

Amid much antique detail of frets, meanders, foliages, gems, and cameos are the usual Christian symbols of the lamb and the tetramorphic figures, of which the Lion and the Ox are echoes of some antique Pegasus. All the Evangelist pictures have coloured grounds with golden *nimbi*¹ to the figures, all of which except the St. Matthew are beardless. The flesh shadows are painted in the Byzantine and Italian manner and rather greenish. Golden initials on purple grounds are placed in front of each gospel. Didron thought that the beardless Christ was a type peculiar to early Christian art, which ceased after the tenth century. This example therefore shows the transition in that motive and in other respects the manifest influence of Byzantine models upon Carolingian art in general. Count Horace de Viel-Castel in his Introduction to the splendid reproduction of the *Statuts de l'Ordre du Saint Esprit* (Paris, 1853), says, "Between the Evangeliary of Charles the Great, formerly belonging to the abbey of St. Sernin of Toulouse,...the Bible given to Charles the Bald by the canons of St. Martin of Tours, and the Evangeliary of the Emperor Otho III. in the Library of the Bollandists at Brussels, it seems to us almost impossible to establish the distinction of the schools of painting of which these three MSS. were the product. That of Otho III., which dates from the tenth century, is superior in execution to the other two. With more or less of barbarism or perfection, the style is the same in the three MSS., and that is the style of the antique

¹ It may be well to remember Didron's distinction as to nimbus, aureole, and glory. The "nimbus" surrounds the head, the "aureole" or "mandorla" (almond-cusp) encloses the body, or complete figure. If both are used, the whole is called a "glory."

Roman school, the inspiration of which has been the guide of the painter from the eighth to the tenth century." This is mainly quite true. The style is no doubt the same, but within it lie several specific differences. We have often to distinguish between a style and a school. If the former indicates a general conformity to a type, the latter indicates a special variety of this conformity. And M. Auguste Molinier ventures to draw a distinction among Carolingian MSS.¹ After showing how this style may have been derived from ancient Roman combined with Anglo-Saxon,² he thus distributes it:—

I. *A Franco-Saxon School*, of which the Gospel-book of St. Vaast, of Arras, is the typical example. M. Delisle in his study of this MS.,³ has given a list of 19 (not 29 as stated by Molinier) others of the same style (school?) still extant at Cambray, Laon, Paris, Lyons, and other places in France, Belgium, and Holland. Its characteristic is the combination of large Roman initials with Anglo-Saxon interlacements. All these MSS. are liturgical books, being either Gospel-books, Sacramentaries, Bibles, Canons, Psalters, or commentaries.

II. *The School of Tours*,⁴ founded by Alcuin.—This school was most flourishing and successful, and its productions are found in many different collections. In it we recognise a demi-uncial character, which is peculiar to its own scriptorium, and several strange letters, such as "g," which with its straight headline recalls the Anglo-Saxon form. The School of Tours includes some of the most exquisite monuments of the ninth century, four of which may be cited as types—The Bible of Count Vivien now at Paris, the Alcuin Bible in the British Museum, the Sacramentary of Autun, and the Gospel-book of Lothaire.⁵ It is hard to say which of the various relics of this splendid variety is really the most attractive,

¹ *Les Manuscrits et les Miniatures*, pp. 120–131. Paris, 1892.

² He objects to the intervention of Byzantine, as he considers all its elements, as reproduced in Carolingian, to have existed in ancient Roman. I have shown what I think is additional in the treatment of the capital.

³ *L'Évangélaire d'Arras et la Calligraphie Franco-Saxonne du ix^e siècle*. Paris, 1888.

⁴ L. DELISLE, *Mémoire sur l'école calligraphique de Tours au ix^e siècle*. 5 helio-engr. Paris, 1885.

⁵ See list on pp. 71–74. The date of the Vivien Bible is about 850. On the Autun MS. see L. DELISLE, *Le Sacramentaire d'Autun*. 4 helio-engr. (In *Gazette Archéologique*, ix, 153–163. Paris, 1884.) Abbot Rodon was a friend of Alcuin and sent him an illuminated book. The Lothaire MS. is in the Nat. Libr., Paris (Lat. in MS. 266).

but we must admit the Vivien Bible to be one of the finest. The ornamental letters, many of which are placed on coloured grounds, are quite Anglo-Saxon. Of course this may be taken as the great feature of the school founded by a distinguished Yorkshire churchman. The old Roman influence previously exercised on the school of York and on English art generally is clearly distinguishable in these Frankish examples, while some features claim alliance with the venerable Merovingian Pentateuch of Tours.¹ Beside the Vivien Bible we might place the Bible of Glanfeuil, also at Paris, given to this abbey by Roricon, a son-in-law of Charles the Great; also that in the Canons' Library at Zurich,² and especially the grand Alcuin Bible in the British Museum.³ The attribution of this MS. to the immediate supervision of Alcuin himself is undoubtedly correct.

The Lothaire Gospel-book, executed by Sigilaus at the cost of that Emperor, is another magnificent example of this school. It is remarkable as containing a portrait of Lothaire, which has been often reproduced.⁴ The Sacramentary of Autun, executed by Albaldus the celebrated calligraphist of Marmoutier, under Abbot Ragenarius about 845, has the colour bands or panels for the letters, the usual interlacements, antique busts, cameos, etc., like the Vivien and Glanfeuil Bibles.

III. *The School of Orleans*.—This branch was organised and presided over by Theodulph, formerly abbot of Fleury, appointed by Charles the Great to the bishopric of Orleans. He was the friend and colleague of Alcuin. The examples of this school are the Bible of President de Mesmes, now at Paris, and the Bible of the Church of Puy Notre Dame of Anjou.⁵ Besides the Scriptural text the former MS. contains poems composed by Theodulph and written in gold and silver letters on purple vellum, also the Chronicle of Isidore and the Tract of Eucherius on the Interpretation of Hebrew names. The latter MS. is

¹ Called also the Ashburnham Pentateuch.

² MS. C. 1. Referred to by Sir Fr. Madden in his account of the British Museum Bible of Alcuin.

³ Fully described by Sir F. Madden in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1836, N.S., vi, pp. 358, 468, 580. London, 1837. In these articles are notices of many other Carolingian MSS.

⁴ Engraved in WOLTMANN, *History of Painting*, i, 213, and MOLINIER, *Les Manuscrits, etc.*, p. 127.

⁵ Both referred to in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, N.S., vi, 585, 586. London, 1837.

evidently a contemporary copy of the former. It is noticed by Bianchini.¹ The writing in these MSS. is very fine and elegant. A few leaves only are of purple vellum, not the whole book. The Psalms and Gospels are written in silver. The initials, too, are less splendid than those of Tours, but in good taste.

IV. *The School of Lyons*.—The MSS. executed in this school have more of the Lombardic or Romanesque character.

V. *The School of St. Riquier*, whose abbot, Angilbert, a son-in-law of Charles the Great, received in 831 a rich Gospel-book from the Emperor. This Gospel-book is now in the Public Library at Abbeville, and points to a valuable library and an independent school of calligraphy.

VI. *The School of Metz* became also a distinct school, the peculiar marks of which were a fine blending of gold and silver with soft and harmonious tones of green; and a preference for foliage ornament, though not to the exclusion of animal forms.

Without carrying further this somewhat hazardous analysis, still many other busy centres of calligraphic production might be enumerated: as Besançon, Luxeuil, St. Gall, Corbie, St. Vaast, St. Amand, Nivelles, Cisoing, Lobbes, Prüm, Maaseyck, St. Bertin, Stavelot, Marchiennes, Anchin, Valenciennes, Fulda, St. Denis, Arras, Poitiers, Bourges, Sauvigny, Autun, Fleury, Reims, Verdun, Laon, Fontanelle, and others, from the prolific and able scriptoria of which issued many MSS. still preserved.²

Examples of contemporary or nearly contemporary illumination are found in several MSS. in the British Museum. They belong to the class called golden books, as the gold writing appears to be the prominent feature in them. Besides the famous Athelstan Gospels (Harl. 2788), one of the principal of them is the Edgar Coronation Book, which dates about 966. Others are Harl. 2820 and 2821, Nero D. IV (the so-called Durham Book or Lindisfarne Gospels), and Egerton 608. These are noticeable for their similar treatment of the Eusebian canons. The Coronation Book of Athelstan, just referred to, is a very splendid MSS. It was

¹ *Evangelium quadruplex*, II, 2, dxciv. Romae, 1749.

² See nos. 4459, 7638, etc., in the library collection, and L. V. DELISLE, *Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale*. Paris, 1868–81; C. DEHAISNES, *Histoire de l'Art dans la Flandre, l'Artois et le Hainaut*. Lille, 1886. DU SOMMERARD, II, 422, gives Martene and Durand's List of Carolingian Evangelia, etc., executed in various parts of France.

a gift from King Athelstan to the cathedral church of Canterbury about 935. From certain obituary notices made on its pages it is thought to have been executed abroad and presented to the King by some member of the Imperial family of Germany. Its date cannot be later than 940. The lettering is clear and good, the ordinary text a Roman minuscule. The titles are in Roman capitals with initials of most beautiful and intricate design. The Eusebian canons are, as usual, placed under arcades, the shafts and capitals of which are executed in gold and silver outlined with red, the outside edges of the silver being now blackened with age. The page containing the opening words of St. Matthew has a most splendid "L" to a monogrammatic "Liber Generationis." The ornamental bands are similar to those in the sculptures of San Michele at Pavia. The "In Principio" of St. John also exhibits a most lovely "I," the general outline of which lingered in English illumination until the fifteenth century.¹

In a Latin Psalter of the tenth century (Harl. 2904), contemporary with the Athelstan Gospels, we have the strong twining stems and three-lobed foliages which became so much the taste during the next two hundred years, and which eventually developed into the Rhenish branch work of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; and, with a strong Sicilian influence, reappeared as the white, golden, and coloured branch work and white vine stems, which prevailed in Italy at the time of the Italian classical Renaissance. The lettering is of the same kind as in Tib. A. II, but the ordinary text has rustic capitals and a minuscule half like engrossing. The border and initial panellings are enriched with the same kind of foliages as the early Romanesque sculptures and Byzantine book covers. They are like those which appear in the Winchester Benedictionals,² and in the German MSS. executed under the early Saxon emperors, of which the Niedermünster Gospel-book, now at Munich, is a typical example.³

Another very handsomely ornamented MS. of the later half of the tenth century, is in the British Museum (Tib. C. VII), with one frame border on fol. 115, if possible more

¹ For general examples of this period see the library collection, nos. 4391-4394. These facsimiles are rather poor. No. 4398 gives a specimen of the Edgar Book.

² See the library collection, no. 241, etc.

³ Royal Libr., Munich, MS. 35. For a most interesting and richly illustrated description of this MS. see CAHIER and MARTIN, *Nouveaux Mélanges d'Archéologie*, I, 15-46; IV, 118, 134, 196.

artistically perfect than those even of the Winchester Benedictionals. The initial "D" is extremely fine, but it appears that no gold was used upon it—the parts which should be gilded being painted of a dull ochre yellow—not even porporino, the common substitute for gold, taking its place. Nevertheless the result is exceptionally beautiful. But the really finest example in the British Museum is the Harley Gospel-book (Harl. 2788). It is considered to rank with the splendid service book of Charles the Bald in the National Library at Paris.

As to the colour of the parchment, the Psalter of St. Germain is a beautiful violet; the Gospel-book of the same abbey and that of Soubise are a deep purple; the greater part of the Vivien Bible is also purple; the Reims Gospels are in gold and silver letters on purple; the St. Denis Gospels, silver on purple; the Brescia Gospels, silver on deep blue.

In general, however, the purple vellum is only found in certain portions: the Canon of the Mass, the frontispiece, the title and the most remarkable passages.

CHARACTERISTICS OF CAROLINGIAN ILLUMINATION.

FIGURE.—Based on early Roman design, but influenced in costume and features by Byzantine examples. Drawing rude and inexperienced. Heads elongated oval. Faces of Roman type, eyes large and wide open arched eye-brows, narrow nose with wide nostrils. The Christ figure mostly beardless. Benediction mostly in the Greek manner.

LANDSCAPE AND BACKGROUNDS.—Still only architectural, but imitative of existing buildings as in Byzantine art. External nature not attempted except in the simplest single plant forms. Backgrounds sometimes panelled.

ORNAMENT.—The characteristic part of this style. Much of the purely calligraphic detail of Celtic illumination is made use of, combined with accessories from ivories, cameos, etc. of Byzantine or antique origin. The sculptures of Romanesque architecture imitated in the leaf-work and borders. Gold and silver employed profusely both in ornament and lettering. Very large initials and intricate monograms introduced in the titles, with symbolic figures and sacred vessels, etc., used as parts of the decoration. The vellum sometimes purple stained.

TECHNIC.—The pen still the chief instrument, but the Italian or Byzantine mode of painting also used, except in the mode of applying gold, both in miniature and ornament. Bands of body colour used as grounds on which letters and ornaments in gold and silver are placed. Colours: those used in Byzantine miniatures applied with a similar medium. They are violet, purple, blue, scarlet, green, and yellow. The flesh painting is dark, but not executed on gold grounds, as in Byzantine work. The gold when used is laid on afterwards with the pen or brush.

IMPORTANT CAROLINGIAN MSS. AND OTHERS OF SIMILAR CHARACTER.

Name.	Location.	Date.	Remarks.
Sacramentary of Gellone.	Nat. Libr., Paris, MS. Lat. 12048.	c. 750.	Remarkable for its symbolism. Given to Monastery of Gellone by Count William of Toulouse.
The Golden Ada-Codex of St. Mesmin of Trèves.	Municip. Libr., Trèves.	c. 775.	Written by order of the <i>Mater et Domina</i> Ada, sister of Charles the Great, and abbess of St. Mesmin or Maximin of Trèves. Most splendid binding; in middle of front cover is a cameo of sardonyx. (See KOELN, in the following table.)
Psalter of Dagulfus or Golden Psalter of St. Hildegardis.	Imp. Libr., Vienna, Th. Lat. 1861.	c. 780.	Written by order of Charles the Great, when King of the Franks, for his queen Hildegardis. Afterwards sent to Pope Hadrian I. In golden letters. Hildegardis died 783.
Bible of Vallicella.	Oratory of Vallicella, Rome (B. 6).	c. 780.	Large sq. fol., 3 cols. No miniatures, but fine initials and writing. (See MADDEN and WESWOOD, in the following table.)
Evangeliarium of Godescalc, or of St. Sernin.	Nat. Libr., Paris, nouv. acquis. Lat. 1203.	c. 780.	Written between 778 and 783, for Charles the Great and Hildegardis. By them presented to the abbey of St. Sernin or Saturninus, Toulouse. In gold and silver letters on purple vellum, with initials and miniatures. Contains 122 selections from the Gospels.
Sacramentary of Gelasius.	Abbey of St. Gall, no. 348.	c. 780.	Franco-Saxon, executed at St. Gall. (See RAHN, in the following table.)

Name.	Location.	Date.	Remarks.
Vienna Bible.	Imp.Libr.,Vienna, Th.Lat.1190 (Ol. 50).	c. 790.	Sq. fol., 3 cols. In several handwritings. (See LAM- BECIUS, in the following table.)
Bible of President de Mesmes.	Nat. Libr., Paris.	c. 790.	Written by order of Theo- dolph, Bishop of Orleans. (See MADDEN, in the fol- lowing table.)
Gospel-book of Angilbert.	Town Libr., Abbe- ville.	c. 793.	Given by Charles the Great to his son-in-law Angilbert, abbot of St. Riquier, or Centula. On purple vel- lum. 2 cols.
Alcuin Bible.	Brit. Mus., Add. 10516.	c. 800.	Written under supervision of Alcuin for presentation to Charles the Great, on his Coronation as Emperor, Dec. 25th, 800.
Zurich Bible.	Cantonal Libr., Zurich.	c. 800.	Fol., 2 cols. Of same school as the Alcuin and Vivien Bibles, viz., Tours.
Bamberg Bible.	Roy. Libr., Bam- berg.	c. 800.	Said to be an exact copy of the Alcuin Bible; also of the school of Tours.
Bible of Puy Notre Dame of Anjou.	Nat. Libr., Paris.	c. 800.	A copy of the Theodolph Bible (no. 8 above).
Gospel-book of Charles the Great.	Imp. Libr.,Vienna.	c. 800.	Found by Otho III., in the tomb of Charles the Great, when opened in 1001.
St. Augustine on the Psalms.	Cath. Libr., Köln.	c. 800.	Belonged to Bishop Hilti- balt (785-819). Like the Sacramentary of Drogo, archbishop of Metz. Written by nine nuns.
Wessobrun Le- gends.	Roy. Libr., Mu- nich.	c. 814.	Written at Wessobrun, Upper Bavaria. Coloured pen-drawings.
Sacramentary of Drogo, arch- bishop of Metz.	Nat. Libr., Paris, Th. Lat. 9428.	c. 814.	Presented by Charles the Great to his natural son Drogo or Dreux, archbishop of Metz (826-855). Of the school of Metz or Tours. See illustrations in Bastard, etc.
Gospel-book of Louis le Débon- naire.	Nat. Libr., Paris, fonds St. Ger- main, 16 and 17.	c. 825.	Executed at St. Martin's of Tours, probably by the same artist as the preceding.
Golden Gospels of Athelstan.	Brit. Mus., Harl. 2788.	c. 835.	A very splendid example. Considered equal to the Vivien Bible in beauty. Probably of the School of Metz.
Gospel-book of Lothaire.	Nat. Libr., Paris, Th. Lat. 266.	c. 850.	Executed at St. Martin's of Tours. A remarkably beautiful volume.
Golden Gospels of Charles the Bald.	Roy. Libr., Mu- nich.	c. 850.	Written by Linthard. Called also the Gospel-Book of St. Emmeran, because given to that abbey by the Emperor Arnulph. Noted for its jewelled covers.

Name.	Location.	Date.	Remarks.
Golden Gospels of St. Médard of Soissons.	Nat. Libr., Paris, Th. Lat. 8850 (ol. Supp. Lat. 686).	c. 850.	Considered by F. Denis the most beautiful Carolingian MS. known. Large sq. fol. Fine miniature of the Fountain of Life. (<i>See FLEURY</i> , in the following table.)
Sacramentary, or Missal, with necrology.	Pub. Libr., Düsseldorf.	c. 850.	Like Sacramentary of Drogo. Very fine initials; especially the W. on fol. 40.
Gospel-book.	Pub. Libr., Trèves, no. 23 (1307 and 1308).	c. 850.	Fairly written. Figures of the Evangelists.
Bible of Ct. Vivien	Nat. Libr., Paris, Th. Lat. 1.	c. 850.	Presented by Count Vivien, abbot of St. Martin of Tours, to Charles the Bald in 850. Fine miniatures of the presentation.
Sacramentary of Autun.	Nat. Libr., Paris.	c. 850.	Of the same school as the preceding.
Leipzig Psalter.	Pub. Libr., Leipzig.	c. 850.	A fine example.
Bible of St. Paul's.	Monastery of St. Callixtus, Rome.	c. 860.	Written for Charles the Bald, by Ingobert.
Prayer-book or Hours (so-called) of Charles the Bald.	Nat. Libr., Paris.	c. 866.	Written by Ingobert, and presented to Charles the Bald, 866.
Bible of St. Denis.	Nat. Libr., Paris, Th. Lat. 2 (257).	c. 870.	Fine large initials. Interplacements of Saxon school. A fragment of it once in the British Museum (Harl. 7551), but now restored.
Golden Gospels of St. Gall.	Libr. of St. Gall, no. 22.	c. 870.	Very fine example, written for abbot Grimbold or Hartmut.
Psalter of Folchard.	Libr. of St. Gall, no. 23.	c. 870.	Written for abbot Hartmut, with gold and silver initials.
Gospels of Fauchet.	Nat. Libr., Paris.	c. 875.	
Gospel-book of Trèves.	Pub. Libr., Trèves, no. 22.	c. 900.	Gold and silver borders; fine initials and canons.
Sacramentary.	Seminary Libr., Munz.	c. 900.	Initials show transition to later style.
Lectionary.	Pub. Libr., Pommersfeld.	c. 900.	Ordinary capitals gold. First two folios finely written on purple vellum.
Sacramentary.	Cath. Libr., Köln.	c. 900.	Singularly fine initials, especially the V and T on folios 1 and 2.
Lectionary.	Cath. Libr., Köln.	c. 910.	Arcaded canons, and beautiful initial of "Liber Generationis."
Evangeliarium Longum	Libr. of St. Gall.	c. 920.	Similar to Folchard's Psalter. Rich profile foliages in gold and silver. Executed by Sintram of the "Wonderous hand."

Name.	Location.	Date.	Remarks.
Gospel-book.	Roy. Libr., Brussels, no. 16883.	c. 925.	Miniatures.
"	Chapter Treasury, Aachen.	c. 925.	Fine figures of Evangelists.
"	Nat. Libr., Paris, Supp. Lat. 667.	c. 940.	Large 4°, written entirely in letters of gold: 5 miniatures and 12 fine porticoes.
"	Nat. Libr., Paris, Supp. Lat. 1118.	c. 945.	Contains 7 miniatures, and 27 decorated pages in gold and silver on purple vellum.
Psalter.	Brit. Mus., Harl. 2904.	c. 995.	Transitional to style of the Benedictionals.
Gospel-book.	Pub. Libr., Boulogne.	c. 1000.	Same transitional style.
"	Trin. Coll., Camb.	c. 1000.	" "

NOTE.—Many other MSS. mentioned by various writers are omitted from this list, either from vagueness of date, or as being fairly represented in style by those given; such are the Gospel-books of Essen, Prague, Kôm, Trèves, Aschaffenburg, etc., the Gottweih Psalter, the Bodley Psalter, etc. The reader will find further information by consulting the following references.

REFERENCES TO THE FOREGOING LIST OF MSS.

ARNETH, J. von.—Ueber das Evangeliarium Karls des Grossen in der K. K. Schatzkammer. *5 chromo-lithogr.* Wien, 1864.

BASTARD, Count A. de.—Peintures et ornements des Manuscrits. *Col. plates* (from Irish, Frankish, and Carolingian MSS.). Paris, 1835–46.

BASTARD, Count A. de.—Peintures, ornements, écritures et lettres initiales de la Bible de Charles le Chauve conservée à Paris. *30 chromo-lithogr.* Paris, 1883.

BRADLEY, J. W. — A Dictionary of Miniaturists, Illuminators, Calligraphers, and Copyists, I, 216–219, etc. London, 1887–89.

BUCHER, B. — Geschichte der technischen Künste. I, 194, etc. Stuttgart, 1875.

CAHIER, C., and MARTIN, A. — Nouveaux Mélanges d'Archéologie. *Plates and cuts.* Paris, 1874–77.

DELISLE, L. V. — Le cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale (Nationale). *Plates.* Paris, 1868–81.

- DELISLE, L. V.—L'Évangélaire de Saint Vaast d'Arras, et la calligraphie Franco-Saxonne du IX^e siècle. *5 helio-engr. and 1 photo-lithogr.* Paris, 1888.
- DENIS, F.—Histoire de l'ornementation des Manuscrits. Paris, 1880.
- DURIEUX, A.—Les Miniatures des Manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Cambrai. *Plates (in atlas).* Cambrai, 1861.
- DU SOMMERARD, A.—Les Arts au Moyen-âge, etc. *Plates.* Paris, 1838-46.
- FLEURY, E.—Les Manuscrits à miniatures de la bibliothèque de Laon. *Lithogr. and cuts.* Laon, 1863.
- FLEURY, E.—Les Manuscrits à miniatures de la bibliothèque de Soissons. *Lithogr. and cuts.* Paris, 1865.
- GERCKEN, PH. W.—Reisen durch Schwaben, Baiern, etc. Stendal, 1783-88. (Describes Gospels of St. Emmeran, etc.)
- HEFNER-ALTENECK, J. H. von.—Trachten, Kunstwerke und Geräthschaften vom frühen Mittelalter bis Ende des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts. 2 ed., vol. I. *Chromo-lithogr.* Frankfurt am Main, 1879. (Leipzig Psalter, etc.)
- HUMPHREYS, H. N.—The Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages. *Chromo-lithogr.* London, 1849.
- JORAND, J. B. J.—Grammatographie du IX^e siècle, types calligraphiques tirés de la Bible de Charles-le-Chauve. *65 lithogr.* Paris, 1837.
- KOELN: *Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde.*—Die Trierer Ada - Handschrift bearbeitet und herausgegeben von K. Menzel, P. Corssen, H. Janitschek, A. Schnütgen, F. Hettner, K. Lamprecht. *38 (3 chromo- and 35 photo-) lithogr., 2 photo-zincotypes and 5 cuts.* Leipzig, 1889.
- LABARTE, J.—Histoire des Arts Industriels au Moyen-âge, etc. *Chromo-lithogr.* Paris, 1864-66. 2 ed. Paris, 1872-75.
- LACROIX, P., and SERÉ, F.—Le Moyen-âge et la Renaissance, etc. *Chromo-lithogr. and cuts.* Paris, 1848-51.
- LAMBECIUS, P.—Commentariorum de augustissima bibliotheca Cæsarea-Vindobonensi libri VIII. *Engr.* Vindobonae, 1665-79.

- LAMPRECHT, K. — Initial-Ornamentik des VIII. bis XIII. Jahrhunderts. *Lithogr.* Leipzig, 1882. (Gives a long list of MSS.)
- LEITSCHUH, F. F. — Aus den Schätzen der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Bamberg. 27 *autotypes*. Bamberg, 1888.
- LEITSCHUH, F. F. — Geschichte der Karolingischen Malerei, ihr Bilderkreis und seine Queilen. 59 *photo-zincotypes*. Berlin, 1894.
- LOUANDRE, C. — Les Arts Somptuaires. *Chromo-lithogr.* Paris, 1852–58.
- MADDEN, Sir F. — Alcuine's Bible in the British Museum (with notes on others of the same period). 1 *lithogr.* In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, N.S., VI, 353, 468, 580. London, 1837.
- MONTFAUCON, B. de. — Les Monumens de la Monarchie Française. *Engr.* 5 vols. Paris, 1729–33.
- RAHN, J. R. — Das Psalterium Aureum von Sanct Gallen. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Karolingischen Miniaturmalerei. 18 (11 *chromo-*) *lithogr.* and 31 *cuts*. St. Gallen, 1878.
- SANFTL, K. — Dissertatio in aureum Evangeliarium codicem Monasterii S. Emmerani. 3 *engr.* Ratisbonæ, 1786.
- SEROUX D'AGINCOURT, J. — Histoire de l'Art par les Monuments. *Engr.* Paris, 1823.
English translation. *Engr.* London, 1847.
- SHAW, H. — Illuminated Ornaments selected from manuscripts, etc. *Col. lithogr.* London, 1833.
- SHAW, H. — The Art of Illumination as practised during the Middle Ages. 2 ed. *Chromo-lithogr. and cuts*. London, 1870.
- SILVESTRE, J. B. — Paléographie Universelle. *Col. engr.* Paris, 1841.
English translation by Sir F. Madden. London, 1850.
- TOUSTAIN, C. F., and TASSIN, R. P. — Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique. . . . Par deux religieux Bénédictins de la Congrégation de Saint Maur. *Engr.* Paris, 1750–65.
- WAAGEN, G. F. — Kunstwerke . . . in Paris. Berlin, 1839.
- WAILLY, J. N. de. — Éléments de Paléographie. 2 vols. *Plates*. Paris, 1838.

- WESTWOOD, J. O.—Facsimiles of the Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish Manuscripts. *Chromo-lithogr.* London, 1868.
- WESTWOOD, J. O.—Palaeographia Sacra Pictoria. *Col. lithogr.* London, 1843-45.
- WESTWOOD, J. O.—The Bible of the Monastery of St. Paul, near Rome, described and compared with other Carlovingian manuscripts. Oxford, 1876. (Accompanying text to the series of photographs published by J. H. Parker.)
-

VI

THE WINCHESTER SCHOOL, OR "OPUS ANGLICUM."

Whatever may have been the activity or success of other centres of book production in this country they are all eclipsed towards the latter half of the tenth century by the amazing and apparently sudden development of the school at Winchester, and we cannot but think that the remembrance we now have of Godemann and Aethelwold is largely due to the personal accomplishments of the great prelate who from 959 to 988 occupied the archiepiscopal throne of Canterbury. His knowledge and taste doubtless rendered his countrymen familiar with foreign work, and encouraged native artists to more zealous emulation of it. The indigenous productions of Anglo-Saxon art do not give us very exalted ideas of native draughtsmanship, but the illuminators of those days were teachable; they were good imitators, and by and by became good artists. The praise bestowed on such efforts as the Cædmon at the Bodleian is of course comparative. The drawing is spoken of as good and spirited, because it might have been worse. Some critics have thought that the fluttering draperies and sweeping folds were the bold attempt of the draughtsman to render the brushwork of Roman models by the touch of the pen; and certainly the disposition of the drapery lines is such as to suggest the *gouache* handling of classic painting, or at least of Romanesque or Byzantine imitations. The earlier drawings in the Utrecht Psalter are distinctly Roman in expression, evidently copied from abler work and attempting to render with the pen the broader and bolder efforts of the brush. Apart from the palæography of that MS. we should conclude it to be the copy of a Roman original, begun by a practised draughtsman and afterwards left to be completed by less skilful assistants. The later drawings are disproportioned and exaggerated, the limbs shapeless, and the drapery lines weak and without meaning. There is a Psalter in the British Museum (Harl. 603), very similar to the one at Utrecht. It is perhaps English, while the former was executed in the north-east of France. Both are illustrated in the same manner, in some cases even with the same pictures. But in addition to the evidence of copying, we have further tokens of recent Frankish influence on the Anglo-Saxon school. The initial of the

first psalm is not Roman, or Irish, or Saxon, but Carolingian. A quite similar initial to the first psalm occurs in another British Museum MS. (Galba A. XVIII), which is a Carolingian example of the ninth century. Still another Psalter, at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (no. 272), is executed in the same style. Altogether we are justified in concluding all these MSS. to belong to the beginning of the ninth century, and may therefore look upon them as the suggestive precursors of the definite English style which arrived at its perfection in the tenth. In such MSS. as the "Breviarium Cassinense" in the Mazarin Library, Paris (no. 759), and the Carolingian MSS., more especially of the school of Metz, we may trace the gradual formation of the Winchester School. On such a basis, with the stimulus of examples like the Athelstan Coronation Book,¹ which bears indications of having been executed in Lorraine or on the German side of the Carolingian influence, and the teaching and example of Dunstan from his experiences at Fleury, this school could scarcely fail of achieving splendid results.

We should like to be able to show that the Athelstan book itself was of English origin, but its style is too perfect and matured. If it were English, we should expect similar examples to be still extant, whereas the nearest contemporary efforts of English work are much beneath it in artistic skill, not to mention its genuine Carolingian splendour of conception. The "Liber Generationis" is as fine as anything in existence of even the best Carolingian illumination.² The next MS. after the Athelstan Gospel-book, and the first known example of actual Winchester work, is the golden charter of King Edgar, the date of which is fixed to the year 966. This also is in the British Museum.³ At this time Dunstan was archbishop of Canterbury, and Aethelwold, bishop of Winchester. The archbishop was himself a skilful artist both in calligraphy and metal-work, and from his residence as a monk at Fleury or Benoit-sur-Loire had acquired his skill from the best sources, under the successor of Theodulph.

¹ Cott. MS. Tib. A. 2.

² Given in TYMMS and WYATT, *The Art of Illuminating*, ix. cent., no. 1 (chromo-lithogr.), London, 1860. The "I" is given in *The Penny Magazine*, Feb. 1839, p. 52.

³ Cott. MS. Vesp. A. viii. Facsimile of dedication and picture and border in the Palæographical Society's Publications, III, pl. 47. Also woodcut in GREEN, *A short History of the English People*, illustrated edition, p. 109. London, 1892.

As Godemann, who in 970 became abbot of Thorney, was the scribe of the Benedictional executed for Bishop Aethelwold about the same time as the Edgar book, or before he was elected abbot, he may also have written the latter MS. and have worked under Dunstan's personal supervision. It is, however, likely that a skilled foreigner was the miniaturist, and not Godemann, who pretends to nothing but the calligraphy. The main fact remains that we have, in the Edgar Charter and the two Benedictionals of Aethelwold and Robert, three examples, all of the highest merit, of actual English work. The Aethelwold Benedictional is in the library of the Duke of Devonshire. A full and illustrated description of it is given in the 24th volume of the *Archaeologia*, to which is appended a brief account of that of Archbishop Robert, now in the Public Library at Rouen. The prelate Robert of Jumièges, whose name is attached to this beautiful MS., was not a contemporary of the scribe and illuminator who produced it. He did not occupy the See of Canterbury until 1050, or nearly a century after Dunstan and about 70 years after the execution of the MS., for it is clearly of the same age and character as that of Aethelwold, though perhaps a little bolder in design. A comparison of the miniatures of the women at the Sepulchre will be unhesitatingly in favour of the Rouen MS. In the library of Salisbury Cathedral there is a Psalter of decidedly Winchester type, but not so fully developed as the Benedictionals. The Gospel-book in the Public Library at Boulogne is a step nearer, both in colouring, design, drapery, and the use of foliages and gold. In this MS. are a very rich purple page and a splendid initial B. It is late Carolingian with silver and gold, used in it as in the Sacramentary of Metz. Similar also to the Winchester work is the Gospel-book now in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, but with more flowing stems and foliages, and really architectural capitals to the pilasters. The colours, too, are more varied. A miniature in Cott. MS. Tib. B. v. shows considerable affinity in some of its details to those of the Benedictionals. The date of this MS. is about 990. The Harley Psalter 2904, of the same date, has the Winchester style of ornament, but even better and finer drawings, and better taste in colour. It has gold bandwork and gold lettering with black outlines, and most perfect and masterly foliages. Still another Winchester book exists in the Cotton Psalter, Tib. C. vi (of somewhat later date perhaps than Tib. B. v), with outlines only tinted, and with Byzantine architectural

forms, but wanting the Byzantine *gouache*. Its initial letters are extremely interesting and ingenious in design.¹ The so-called St. Dunstan Book (Cotton. Claudius A. III.) is of a later type altogether, and so is the Arundel Psalter 60. The latter has good Othonian patterns in frames and sweeps of Winchester style, foliages at the corners and centres, with panels like the Niedermünster Gospels. Last in our list, though it does not exhaust the number of examples, we must mention the famous Cnut Gospels, not forgetting in our study of Winchester MSS., that, when they were executed, Winchester was what London is now, the metropolitan city. It was the residence of the early English Kings, the seat of government, and the centre of civilised society. In this MS. the foliages are more slender than those of the Benedictionals, but the general character is the same.² All the Winchester books use the Carolingian, that is the Byzantine, method of painting in thick *gouache* with a very viscid medium, so strong and bright as almost to have the appearance of oil. So excellent is the work and so famous did it become that it was considered on the Continent as typical of our national art and received the appellation of "opus Anglicum." Its characteristic ornament is a quadrilateral framework of bright gold bars with circular, cusped, lobed, or lozenge-shaped corners and centres, coiled about which, and filling the panelling, are stemless foliages of various colours. This prevalence of the leaf over the stem shows the sources of the foliage ornament as coming from the Romanesque frieze sculptures and the Carolingian frame-borders, and shows as a striking contrast to the following Othonian and Suabian development of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in which the stem becomes the prominent feature as if actually a new growth, unfolding, first a mere bud, then a profile gemmule, next a three-lobed and fully-displayed leaf, and lastly, in the fifteenth century, a rich variety of flowers and even fruits.

¹ H. SHAW, *Illuminated Ornaments* (London, 1833), gives some of the Initials in specimen III (pl. 6, col. lithogr.).

² Examples in TYMMS and WYATT, x. cent., no. 4; H. SHAW, *Illuminated Ornaments*, London, 1833, plate VI; and H. SHAW, *The Art of Illumination* London, 1870, plate 4.

CHARACTERISTICS OF WINCHESTER ILLUMINATION, OR
"OPUS ANGLICUM."

FIGURE.—Somewhat as in Carolingian, but seeming more directly influenced by Roman models and practice. Heads and expressions better than in Carolingian. Draperies highly finished, folds very carefully marked. Defects much the same as in Carolingian. Also noses too small and hands too long. The figures of the Rouen Benedictional of Archbishop Robert superior to the rest in every way.

LANDSCAPE AND BACKGROUNDS.—Architectural; only Romanesque buildings, with Byzantine dome on columns in the miniature of the Annunciation (Devonshire Benedictional). The clouds and air only attempted, and a few single plants, as the lily.

ORNAMENT.—Peculiar and characteristic. Partly architectural. First, a series of arched doorways, under which figures of apostles and saints are placed. The pilasters in gold and colours, as also the pedestals, capitals and interlacing arches. Next, mostly rectangular frame borders of gold panelling, the interiors of which are filled with surface foliages of short palmette or soft acanthus forms symmetrically disposed. At the corners, and sometimes at the centres also, are circlets, squares, lobed or lozenged over-panellets, entwined with longer foliages, symmetrically grouped. The framework is gold, with firmly ruled outlines of black or deep brown. The foliages are of varied colours, chiefly blue, green, and rose. Golden initials and text, mostly on plain vellum. Some examples have pages of purple, with gold or silver letters.

TECHNIC.—Strong tempera or *gouache*, very thick and viscid, and looking almost like oil-painting. Colours pure and bright, but varying in different examples with a preference, however, for green, red, and yellow, as in Carolingian examples. Gilding profuse and solid-looking and applied in the Western manner.

LIST OF SOME WINCHESTER AND SIMILAR MSS.

Name.	Location.	Date.	Remarks.
Breviarium Cas-sinense.	Mazarin Libr., Paris, no. 759.	—	Frames show tendency towards this style, with colouring of the School of Metz.
Charter of King Edgar.	Brit. Mus., Cotton. Vespasian A. VIII.	936.	Contains the figure of King Edgar between St. Peter and St. Ebba. Ornaments as in the Benedictionals.
Benedictional of St. Aethelwold.	Libr. of Duke of Devonshire.	c. 970.	The most beautiful example of this school.
Benedictional of Archbishop Robert.	Pub. Libr., Rouen.	c. 980.	Better drawn than the preceding, but not so fine in colour.
Gospel-book.	Pub. Libr., Boulogne.	c. 990.	Contains a rich purple page and grand initial B.
Gospel-book.	Trin. Coll., Cambridge.	c. 990.	Frame borders of this style.
Gospel-book.	Libr. at Holkham.	c. 990.	" "
Psalter.	Brit. Mus., Cotton. Tiberius B. v.	c. 990.	Miniatures somewhat in this style.
Psalter.	Brit. Mus., Harl. 2904.	c. 990.	Frames of foliages similar to those of Aethelwold's Benedictional.
Psalter.	" " Tib. C. VI.	c. 1000.	Tinted outlines only.
Psalter.	" " Tib. C. VII.	c. 1000.	Beautiful frames and initial D on fol. 115.
Psalter.	" " Arundel, 60.	c. 1000.	Of Winchester origin.
Psalter.	" " Arundel, 155.	c. 1000.	" "
Sacramentary.	Nat. Libr., Paris, no. 987.	c. 1000.	Similar to the Benedictionals.
Cnut Gospel-book.	Brit. Mus., Roy. 1. D. 9.	c. 1017.	A fine example.
Leofric Missal.	Bodley Libr., Oxford, no. 579.	10th cent.	Similar to above. Byzantine influence.

APPENDIX ON HANDWRITINGS.

The study of Palæography is too wide a subject to be made a mere appendix to a chapter, but it is necessary, at least, for the student to know that a definite understanding of technical phraseology must be obtained, and a clear idea of the objects referred to by such terms as rustic, uncial minuscule, etc., if he would make any sound progress in the

art of judging the probable age or local origin of an ancient MS. Some knowledge of handwritings is a *sine qua non*, but the real mastery of the subject is only to be obtained after long and patient study of MSS. themselves. The first step should be to consult such works as will afford the simple rudiments clearly set forth. Among these works perhaps one of the earliest might be Mr. Thompson's lucid article in the last edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.¹ Then the first chapter of Mr. Birch's *History, Art, and Palæography of the manuscript styled the Utrecht Psalter* (Lond., 1876), from which and from M. de Wailly's *Éléments de Paléographie* (Paris, 1838), the following table has been chiefly compiled. The study of ancient charters and diplomas is much more difficult than that of ordinary, and especially of illuminated MSS. In addition to the study of handwritings a student of old MSS. will learn the difference in the quality of vellum according to its age, and will be able to distinguish the different modes of finishing made use of in different centuries. Then will come the question of locality, as all the fine vellum of any given period is not the production of one particular district. There is a fine and a coarse in every age; but the fine of the ninth century is different from that of the sixth. The rough, strong, and thick material of Irish Gospel-books is very different from the firm but exquisite parchment or vellum of the fourteenth century. Some vellum is thick to the touch but almost diaphanous or translucent; other vellum is as thin and smooth as bank paper, yet opaque and tough. Qualities differ in many ways, so that only experience and careful study during the practical turning over of the leaves of MSS. can teach all that should be learnt by the palæographer. Mr. Birch, however, gives a list of writers who may be consulted for further knowledge. If to the knowledge of the probable age of the vellum is added that of the probable age of the writing the fixing of an approximate date is not a difficult matter. And when to this is added a knowledge of the illumination or miniature art, it must be a very curious document indeed that will not yield tolerably definite information. There may indeed be circumstances which combine to create almost every possible difficulty. The Utrecht Psalter, a MS. possibly brought to England from Italy or Lorraine by King Canute or some other book-lover of Anglo-Saxon

¹ His *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palæography*; London, 1893, has since appeared.

times, is an instance in point. The evidences of vellum, handwriting, and miniatures seem at first to contradict each other, until it is seen that the writing is not genuinely an ancient hand, but an imitation of one, and the pen-drawings are copies, and so the facts are reconciled. After much discussion it is now generally considered to be a ninth century MS., but for a time it embarrassed even the most experienced judges. Such MSS., however, are quite exceptional.

In the inventories of the Libraries of Charles V. and VI. of France mention is made of the different handwritings employed in contemporary MSS., such as the following.

1. *Lettre boulonoise*, *lettre de forme bolonoise*, *grosse lettre bolonoise*. This was the text known as Bolognese, from being chiefly practised at Bologna, where there was a busy school of copyists, especially of large liturgical books. This hand was that which we usually see in such books during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It is heavier and has fewer angles than the *lettre de forme* of Northern Europe. Almost all Italian Missals, Breviaries, Bibles, etc. are written in it.

2. The ordinary *lettre de forme*, *formée* or *fournée*, was more square, with angular extremities. It was used from the ninth to the sixteenth century for liturgical and other important works chiefly in France, England, Germany, and the Netherlands, but along with the *bolonoise*.

The first printers adopted this Gothic or German text, e.g., Pfister in his German calendar of 1455, and Fust and Schoeffer in their Psalters of 1457 and 1459, also in the undated Bible of Gutenberg and Fust of 1456.

3. *Lettre de note*, *bâtarde*, or *courante*. The ordinary writing of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. It is the hand in which the bulk of French, English, Flemish, and German MSS. were written, and was also used by notaries in common deeds, etc.

4. *Lettre de cour*, or *de la Cour de Rome*. This was used as a Chancery hand in law documents in England, France, and Italy.

5. *Lettre de somme*. A smaller hand derived from the *lettre de forme* by softening the angles. It obtained its name of *lettre de somme* from the fact that Fust and Schoeffer made use of it to print their *Somme* or *Summa* of St. Thomas Aquinas of 1467 and several other books of the same period. Gutenberg employed it in his *Catholicon* of 1460. Many of the MS. Chronicles and Romances

of the fifteenth century now in the public libraries of London, Paris, and Brussels are in this character.

6. *Lettres des Juifs*. These were Hebrew letters.

TERMS USED RESPECTING WRITING AND MSS.

CURSIVE.—The common rapid running hand of notes and correspondence.

CAPITAL.—The square letter chiefly used for inscriptions.

RUSTIC.—A rough and rapid form of the capital used in MSS.

UNCIAL.—A rounded form, derived from the capital and called uncial from *uncia* the twelfth part of the Roman foot, English *inch*, but practically its dimensions are much less, seldom being more than quarter of an inch. Some of the most beautiful uncial writing extant occurs in the Ambrosian Homer of the fifth century (Greek) and in the Paris Prudentius and Psalter of St. Germain-des-Prés (on purple vellum in silver and gold letters).

MINUSCULE.—A very small form of the uncial. The ultimate small Roman character used in Visigothic, Lombardic, Merovingian, and Carolingian writing, and lastly in printing.

TACHYGRAPHER.—A swift-writer.

CALLIGRAPHER.—One who produced beautiful writing.

ARMARIUS.—A library-keeper or librarian.

CHRYSOGRAPHER.—A gold-writer.

LIBRARIUS.—A copyist.

GOTHIC.—The broken Roman minuscule angular method of round which arose in the eleventh or twelfth centuries. It has many varieties, *e.g.*, German, Netherlandish, English, French, Italian, Spanish.

These hands are in the later middle ages clearly distinguishable from each other.

VARIOUS FORMS OF WRITING.

TABULAR FORM BASED ON MR. BIRCH'S LISTS (UTRECHT
PSALTER PP. 40-43).

Tabular form based on Mr. Birch's

Century.	CURSIVE.	CAPITAL.	RUSTIC.	UNCIAL.
1	In use two centuries before Christian era. Graffiti of Pompeii, etc.	The most ancient form for inscriptions, Greek and Roman.	A rough and rapid form of the Capital, derived from it.	
2				
3	Latin Papyri.		(Throughout.) Vat. Vergil, 3225. Vat. Terence, 3226.	(Throughout.) Vat. Cicero, 5757 (palimpsest, <i>see</i> SILVESTRE, pl. 64).
4	Papyrus of Ravenna, now at Paris.	Called capitals by WAILLY (II, pl. 2, no. 1), but really rustic.	Vat. Sallust (<i>see</i> BIRCH, <i>Utrecht Psalter</i> , p. 26). Paris, anc. fds. lat. 8084. Prudentius (<i>see</i> WAILLY, II, 282, and pl. 2). <i>See</i> 6th century.	
5	<i>See</i> G. MARINI, <i>I papiri diplomatici</i> , nos. 73, 82, 84 (dated 444, 489, 491). Roma, 1805.		Laurent. Vergil (<i>see</i> BIRCH, p. 22). Vat. Vergil, 3867 (<i>see</i> BIRCH, p. 24).	Paris, Cyprian (<i>see</i> BIRCH, p. 12). Milan, Gosp. of St. Luke (<i>see</i> Palæogr. Soc., pl. 54).
6	<i>See</i> MARINI, nos. 85, 116, 86, 74, etc. (dated 523, 541, 553, etc.) Ravenna Testament, Paris (<i>see</i> SILVESTRE, pl. 101). Ravenna Papyrus in Brit. Mus. (date, 572). Homil. of St. Avitus (<i>see</i> SILVESTRE, pl. 128).	(Throughout.) Vatican Vergil, 3256 (<i>see</i> BIRCH, p. 14).	Paris Prudentius, 8084 (<i>see</i> BIRCH, p. 27). <i>See</i> 4th century.	Vienna Livy, 15 (<i>see</i> SILVESTRE, pl. 75). Paris Livy, 5730 (<i>see</i> Palæogr. Soc., pl. 31, 32). Paris Theodosian Code (<i>see</i> SILVESTRE, pl. 76). Paris Psalter of St. Germain, 661 (<i>see</i> WAILLY, II, 277, and SILVESTRE, pl. 77). London, Brit. Mus., Harl. 1775 (<i>see</i> Palæogr. Soc., pl. 16).
7	<i>See</i> MARINI, nos. 90, 92, 95, and J. A. LETRONNE, <i>Diplomata et chartae Merovingicæ ætatis in Archivio Franciæ asservata</i> . Parisiis, 1844-49. Ambros. Josephus (<i>see</i> Palæogr. Soc., pl. 59).			Florence, Laurentian Libr., Pandects (<i>see</i> SILVESTRE, pl. 82). Stonyhurst St. John (<i>see</i> Palæogr. Soc., pl. 17). Camb., Corpus Christi College, Gospels, 286 (<i>see</i> Palæogr. Soc., pl. 33, 34). Book of Kells (<i>see</i> Palæogr. Soc., pl. 55-58, and works referred to on pp. 41 and 48 of this introduction). Luxeuil, St. Augustine.

FORMS OF WRITING.

Lists (Utrecht Psalter, pp. 40-43).

CAPITAL AND UNCIAL.	RUSTIC AND UNCIAL.	RUSTIC AND MINUSCULE.	UNCIAL AND MINUSCULE.	CAPITAL AND MINUSCULE.	Century.
					1
					2
					3
					4
					6
<p><i>See</i> SILVESTRE. Paris, Homil. of St. Augustine, papyrus (<i>see</i> SILVESTRE, pl. 74). Paris, Augustine, 11641 (<i>see</i> Palæogr. Soc., pl. 42, 43). Paris, Pentateuch de Lyon.</p>					
<p>London, Lindisfarne Gospels, Brit. Mus., Nero D. iv (<i>see</i> Palæogr. Soc., pl. 3-6). London, Brit. Mus., Aug. II. 2, charter of Hlothair, king of Kent, A.D. 679; and Aug. II. 29, Ethelred, A.D. 692 or 693 (<i>see</i> Facsimiles of ancient charters in the British Museum, pl. 1, 2. London, 1873). London, Brit. Mus., Homil. of Origen (<i>see</i> Burney, 340).</p>	<p>Laurent. Bible of Montamata (<i>see</i> BIRCH, p. 35). Paris Psalter (<i>see</i> BIRCH, p. 36).</p>	<p>Camb. Gospels (<i>see</i> BIRCH, p. 38, and WESTWOOD, Palæographia sacra pictoria, pl. 45).</p>	<p>Cambridge, Cod. Bezae (<i>see</i> Palæogr. Soc., pl. 15).</p>		7

CAPITAL AND UNCIAL.	RUSTIC AND UNCIAL.	RUSTIC AND MINUSCULE.	UNCIAL AND MINUSCULE.	CAPITAL AND MINUSCULE.	Century.
<p>London, Brit. Mus. (Koy. I. E. vi), Gospel of St. Jerome (Canterb.).</p> <p>London, Brit. Mus., Aug. II. 3, charter of Ethelbald, A.D. 736 (<i>see</i> Facsimiles, pl. 7).</p>			<p>Paris, Livy (<i>see</i> SILVESTRE, pl. 88), perhaps 7th century.</p> <p>Lichfield, Gospels of St. Chad (<i>see</i> Palaeogr. Soc., pl. 20, 21, 35), c. 700.</p>	<p>First appearance of <i>Caroline</i>, c. 778.</p>	8
<p>London, Brit. Mus., Codex Aureus (Harl. 2788).</p> <p>Paris, Gospels of St. Médard, <i>soissons</i> (<i>see</i> BIRCH, p. 15, and SILVESTRE, pl. 91).</p> <p>Paris, Prayer-book of Charles the Bald (<i>see</i> SILVESTRE, pl. 92).</p>		<p>London, Brit. Mus., Aratus (Harl. 647).</p>		<p>CAROLINE.</p> <p>Bible of Charles the Bald.</p>	9
				<p>Paris, Comment. of St. Jerome.</p>	10

VII

OTHONIAN AND OTHER CONTEMPORARY MONASTIC
ILLUMINATIONS.

In the preceding chapters, whilst dealing more especially with the foliage ornament of Carolingian and Winchester work, we have unavoidably had to anticipate some of the characteristics of the next Continental Revival. The indigenous pen-drawing both of English and foreign scribes, over whose productions these Revivals sprang up, was very much the same. Figure compositions were simple, very imperfect in drawing and proportion, and with heavy and unskilful outlines. No body colouring was attempted, but the pen lines were washed with thin tints of red, blue, and violet, as in the Utrecht Psalter. In France and Germany the period after the reigns of Charles the Bald and Lothaire had been one of rapid deterioration. But with the son of Henry the Fowler came something like a reappearance of the Carolingian brilliancy in the arts. Not indeed the same, but a natural and exquisite development of its most beautiful features. Otho the Great may be said to have inaugurated this new revival, being himself a man of varied culture and magnificent tastes. Under his son Otho II., the husband of Theophano, an army of Byzantine metal-workers and chirographers arrived at the Imperial Court, and abolished for a time all the old Celto-German influence. Now appears a cultivated and quasi-classical refinement in all the arts connected with architecture and the production of books. The young Greek princess was a passionate admirer of Byzantine enamels, and, if not literary herself, was an encourager of literature in her new empire. Thus it may be explained how at this time Byzantine influence once more touched the Netherlands and the Rhineland. But the new art differs widely from pure Byzantine in its love of realism, and its sense of humour. In the National Library at Paris (Supp. Lat. 693) is a Gospel-book which shows almost pure English work of the tenth century. It is adorned with figures of birds of the most peculiar plumage; and accompanying the Evangelists, an absolutely sculpturesque lion, whose mane is one careful mass of curly locks, as perfect as those of a Homeric princess, but coloured, to suit the design, of a most impossible leonine hue; and a strictly decorative "imago vituli" coloured with similar disregard of nature. The whole book is a reminiscence of the School of Durham or Lindis-

farne.¹ On the other hand, the Gospel-book of Otho III. (983-1002) has most elegant ornaments. The *In Principio* has tetramorphic symbols placed in square panels upon the frame, and the Lamb in the centre. The details consist of rich bandwork and extremely fine foliage, used as surface ornament for the border panels. Miniatures are extremely rare during this period, and by no means equal to the ornament. In the first volume of Cahier (*Nouveaux Mélanges d'Archéologie*, I, 47) is an article dealing expressly with the portraits of Carolingian and Othonian MSS. The portrait of Charles the Bald adorns the Gospel-book of St. Denis, given by the emperor Arnulph to St. Emmeran's near Regensburg, and now in the Royal Library at Munich.² That of Lothaire has already been mentioned. Charles's portrait is quite in the manner of the consular diptychs, and suggests the Oriental luxury of the Byzantine, rather than the Frankish, court in its rich tissues encrusted with gold, gems, and embroidery. On the right and left of the throne are two royal armour-bearers. On his right is the *spatharius* or sword-bearer, on his left the *scutifer*, who holds his shield and spear. The emperor wears scarlet hose and shoes like those referred to in the Book of Ceremonials composed by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, and in his time (911-958) used only by imperial personages. The tunic is blue, covered with triads of golden spots, and not white, as worn at the Byzantine court. Here we see thus early the time-honoured choice of blue and gold as the Royal colours of France, and though the lily does not appear on the draperies, it is found on the sceptres of Joshua and Aaron already referred to.³ It is the attendants here who wear the white mantle. The Imperial robe is rich purple, with an embroidered border sown with pearls. Charles is accompanied also by two allegorical figures in white garments named Francia and Gothia, which recall the numerous figures of cities, etc. among the illustrations of the *Notitia utriusque Imperii*.⁴ By Francia is unquestionably meant

¹ See reproduction in LACROIX, FOURNIER, and SERÉ; *Histoire de l'Imprimerie, etc.*, p. 12. Paris (1851).

² For this MS. see the albertypes and text in L. v. KOBELL, *Kunstvolle Miniaturen und Initialen*, parts 1, 2. München, 1890.

³ See engraving of this miniature of "Moses giving the Law," from the Alcuin Bible, in the illustrated edition of GREEN's *Short History of the English People*, p. 81.

⁴ This miniature is reproduced CAHIER, *Nouveaux Mélanges*, I, pl. vi, and C. SANFTL in his *Dissertatio in . . . Evangeliorum codicem MS. Monasterii S. Emmerani*, tab. III. The latter is of the full size of the MS. (312 × 407 mm.).

Charles' own kingdom. Gothia is explained by the writers to mean Aquitaine. It is the territory of the Visigoths that is evidently meant, including Toulouse. A similar portrait is given in the article, of one of the Othos, most probably Otho III., who succeeded his father at three years of age in 983, and was poisoned by the widow of Crescentius in 1002. Among other portraits noticed is one of Henry II. (St. Henry), a direct copy of that of Charles the Bald, except in features and details and a more modern treatment. As Cahier says, it is an example of the unscrupulous way in which Bavarian miniaturists availed themselves of existing designs. No doubt the painter of the later MS., once at Bamberg and now like its predecessor at Munich (no. 40), had seen and copied the St. Denis Bible when it was at St. Emmeran's. Henry II. was duke of Bavaria, and hence the temporary transfer of illuminators and calligraphers from the North to the South of the Empire, and the formation of this Bavarian School, which in later times became one of the most influential in Germany. The Royal Library at Brussels contains some of the most typical and beautiful MSS. of the Saxon epoch. They represent the style which, in the graceful pen-drawn branchwork, finished in various coloured inks and burnished gold, with the unerring accuracy once characteristic of Irish chirography, became the prevailing taste throughout the greater part of the eleventh and twelfth centuries both here and on the Continent. It was the immediate development of the Schools of Metz and Winchester combined, probably in the Rhineland, before reaching Regensburg and Goslar. It is often difficult to say whether the work of this period is English or Continental. The great Bible executed in the twelfth century at Floreffe, near Namur, of which the penmanship is most perfect, and the choice of coloured inks most lovely and harmonious, only differs in unimportant details of colour from the Arnstein Bible and Psalter of the same century, and from the great three-volume Bible still kept at Winchester.

Sometimes the handwriting forms our only guide; sometimes even this distinction fails, since the election of foreign abbots or priors to English monasteries often introduced the latest continental variations in calligraphy, or the employment of foreign illuminators in English scriptoria reduced the work to a common standard. Perhaps the most striking suggestion presented by the new style of the eleventh and twelfth centuries is that of metal-work. In the Niedermünster Gospel-book—so pro-

fusely illustrated by Cahier (*Nouveaux Mélanges*, 1)—the scroll-branches are precisely similar to those executed in iron or brass for the ornamental hinges of doors and chest-lids, such as are seen in contemporary furniture. Indeed the majority of the Monte Cassino¹ and St. Gall² MSS. in this style are eminently suggestive of wrought iron-work gilt or enamelled. The study of special details is often instructive in the matter of identification of work, as for example in the actual features of the designs forming the borders of the pages. Thus the corners of the miniature of the Crucifixion in the Gospel-book (anc. fds. Lat. 257 of the Nat. Libr., Paris) of which a reproduction is given by Louandre,³ are all but identical with fol. 28 v. of the Evangelary of St. Vaast of Arras, and with another folio in MS. 309 of the Library of Cambrai, given by Durieux. This suggests community of origin or of models. Other MSS. may be found remarkable in other respects. Possibly useful light might be thrown on this question of common origin or of copying by a careful comparison of the numerous initials ("L") of the "*Liber Generationis*," most of which are conspicuous for their elegance of design and for the general uniformity of their plan. The Echternach Gospel-book possesses one of the finest of these special initials, dating about 990. The page forms one of the principal openings of most of these books. Another such page for examination would be the "*In principio*" of St. John's Gospel, another the "*Beatus Vir*" of the Psalter. As marking slight but perceptible differences of treatment the initials of MSS. like the Echternach book should be compared as to the single, double or triple form of the gemmule. The beautiful "C" of the Codex Egberti,⁴ dating c. 975, is an instance. Almost all the gemmules are single, the terminals only being trefoils. In this they agree exactly with those in the Gospel-book of Luxeuil, while the Echternach codex has many double ones and even quatre, and cinque, foils as terminals. Still richer in double and triple forms is the MS. 1378 of the Public Library at Trèves, the date of which is the first half of the twelfth century. Again, the Golden Psalter of St. Gall has many double and triple profile gemmules on the stems of the initial "B" of the Beatus. In Egerton MS. 608, on the other hand, they are

¹ *Paleografia artistica di Montecassino* (O. P. Taeggi). Montecassino, 1877.

² RAHN, J. R. *Das Psalterium Aureum von Sanct Gallen*. St. Gall, 1878.

³ *Les Arts Sempiternels*. Planches, I, 14. Paris, 1858.

⁴ Public Libr., Trèves, no. 24.

mostly single, but the grounds are filled in with bright colours, as scarlet, green, and blue. But these are suggestions merely and should not be too closely pressed. Perhaps they indicate place rather than period. These graceful stems, with their gradually developing foliages, are the great feature of the style which begins with the Othonian Revival of 972, and goes progressively onward to the brilliant era of the great Frederick II., and only becomes absorbed in the Gothic influence which entirely pervaded the West in the days of St. Louis, or about the middle of the thirteenth century. The style was due to the settled fusion of preceding elements, no longer kept distinct and merely combined, but grown and welded together to a perfect unity. Before the division of the great Carolingian empire by the treaty of Verdun in 843, a much more than diplomatic separation had already taken place. The vernacular speech of Austrasia on the Lotharingian side was already far on its march towards High German, while that of Neustria on the west was as distinctly tending towards the *Langue d'oïl*. Similarly the tongues of Aquitaine and Lombardy were assuming the phraseology which became Romance and Catalan on the one side and Italian on the other. With these trenchant changes in speech naturally grew changes in dress, customs and artistic tastes. The national characteristics of Mediæval Europe were becoming stereotyped. Hence the influence of Byzantine ideas now is not superficially observable. It has not been abandoned but absorbed. After a brief domination under the second Otho it sinks beneath the surface of German art, but informs its spirit until the national Germanic method has become matured. With the opening of the eleventh century begins a new era of decorative art. Both in architecture and bookwork its conspicuous feature is the often-mentioned finely drawn branch-work, in which foliages are quite subordinate. In illumination, this branch-work begins by being executed, as in the school of Metz, in gold outlined with red, and is concentrated upon the large initial letters. The monogram is gradually abandoned. In some localities the gold is laid aside for coloured inks of a beautiful and tender quality, employed with the most masterly calligraphic skill and perfect taste for harmonious colouring. In the complete subordination of the foliage to the branch-work it has been noticed that this German style of the eleventh century is absolutely the converse of the English of the tenth, where foliages almost or entirely without stems—which may be ultimately traced, through the sculptures of

Ravenna, to the Roman palmette—are made the principal portion of the ornament. We may here conveniently pause to notice the origin and development of certain prominent features both of English and German book-ornament which at first sight appear somewhat arbitrary. In the borders of German MSS. of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, we find it a common practice to use a succession of beads or bands of paled pure colours, mostly in strong contrast, such as violet or rose and bright green; bright scarlet and violet; violet, pale blue and pale yellow; scarlet, rose and pale green, some of these combinations being traceable to the borders of Celtic ornament. This fondness for alternations of pure colour, sometimes paled, sometimes saturated, eventually becomes quite a conspicuous feature of German illumination in connexion with what I have called surface foliages. The latter in the form of palmette or soft acanthus was much used in Carolingian panellings, and is continued in Othonian and Suabian, and partly thence in English, Edwardian to Lancastrian. How it came to the latter, or English of the fifteenth century, will be seen by-and-by. The form of the frame-borders also is clearly traceable. In German work we find a habit of placing circlets in the corners or side centres, or sometimes, as in the Niedermünster Gospel-book, in both. In English the circlets are still kept at the corners, as in the Winchester work.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the framework is often parti-coloured, with counterchanged colours, or at least the panels are already taking the form and being enriched with surface foliages much in the same way as afterwards in the Lancastrian of the fifteenth century. In short, whether in English or continental work, there is really no element in the illumination of the two centuries following the Norman Conquest, which is not a natural development of forms already in use, with one exception, viz., the addition of such natural plant-forms as were introduced by the Gothic stone and wood-carvers into architectural ornament: an addition which after all cannot be considered exceptional. The Gothic taste which, from the accession of St. Louis in France prevailed throughout almost all Western Europe, is answerable for all that is new, in the ivy, vine, thistle, trefoil, and other foliages, which towards the end of the twelfth century begin to creep into border and initial decoration. If during these centuries the illuminator is chiefly influenced by the richly twisted and gilded iron-work of the time, after the beginning of the

thirteenth he again returns to the imitation of stone-carving, the work of Cistercian houses being severe and without the use of gold, while that of Cluniac origin glows with varied colours and glitters with burnished gold. The difference of practice was the outward result of a diametrical opposition of opinion and discipline, and even became the subject of a certain dissension between the two rival and influential orders. Many of the monastic illuminators were either themselves goldsmiths and metal-workers or directly associated with such craftsmen in the cloister, and besides it was but natural that the prevalent fashion should be led most commonly by the workers most in request. Next to these and the enamellers, or at times before them, according to the popularity of their work, came the stone-carvers. Enamelling is still conspicuous in forming the back-grounds of miniatures and the bodies of the larger initials, even from the beginning of the Gothic period. The well-known diapering and chequer-work of the Psalter of St. Louis and of succeeding MSS. down to the Hours of the Duke of Berry in the fourteenth century are clearly laid in imitation of the enamelled surfaces of crosiers, chalices, ciboria, and other productions of the goldsmith and enameller. Nothing could demonstrate more clearly the intimate relation of all the minor arts to each other in mediæval times than the history of book decoration. Apart from the external ornament, which frequently called in the aid of both goldsmith and embroiderer, the book itself, in its embellished pages, records the character of all the contemporary modes of luxury and adornment. Just as in the Romanesque and Byzantine may be recognised such architectural enrichments as were seen on the tombs of Honorius and Theodoric at Ravenna, so the metal ornaments of cathedral chests and doors and the embroideries of episcopal paraphernalia made up the decoration of the grand initials of the Othonian Franconian and Suabian Gospel books. The beautiful and typical enrichment of the Egerton Gospels¹ is identical in kind with that embroidered on the chasuble of St. Thomas of Canterbury at Sens, while the same treatment of feathers employed on the venerable sudarium of St. Germain, at Auxerre, reappears in the birds and monsters of the Apocalypse of the Marquis d'Astorga. The persistence of this Othonian form of ornament is very remarkable. It differs but slightly, as already pointed out, in the Codex Egberti of c. 980

¹ Brit. Mus., no. 608.

at Trèves, the Echternach Gospel-book of c. 990 at Gotha, the Trèves MS. (no. 1378) of c. 1140, and this Egerton MS. 608 of the British Museum. The addition of richly-pearled crossbands and recurved palmette foliages converts this earlier style into the coiled and banded ornament of the succeeding two centuries, with its revived *appareil* of dogs, birds, and huntsmen, and its widening foliages. Thus it becomes a fitting climax and completion in its splendour and grace to the great pre-Gothic or Romanesque period, which had drawn its threefold life and inspiration from Rome, Byzantium, and Iona. The new style is to be a work chiefly of monastic origin, but influenced from its birth by the newly-awakened love for, and reverential imitation of, external nature, rather than by the subjective rules of the old dogmatic asceticism.

CHARACTERISTICS OF SAXON, RHENISH, AND BAVARIAN ILLUMINATION, X.-XII. CENTURY.

FIGURE.—May be divided into two classes: *a.* mere pen-drawings, or pen-drawings slightly washed with colours; *b.* complete paintings in body colours. The former are generally too long in their proportions, and have the same fault in the extremities; the latter are more in the Roman manner and of better execution, showing an approach to the later realistic schools, especially in the North-West. Eyes still staring, but extremities smaller than in the previous centuries.

LANDSCAPE AND BACKGROUNDS.—Not yet introduced into the miniatures. Enamel-grounds or plain burnished gold often used as backgrounds to both initials and miniatures.

ORNAMENT.—Superbly elegant branchwork in gold with red outlines, or in coloured inks, apparently in imitation of wrought metal work and embroidery. In Italian calligraphic illumination, the Irish and Lombardic ideas of dogs and other figures occur in the coils instead of flowers or foliages. Indeed Monte Cassino illumination, even to the thirteenth century, might be designated the “white dog” style. The initials of the Golden Psalter of St. Gall are most exquisitely beautiful. So are many others in other contemporary MSS.

TECHNIC.—Slight tints of clearly-washed transparent colour on black or red outlines, or else thick *gouache* and raised gold, executed with gold leaf and burnished. The Bamberg school of colour differs from the

Lotharingian. First instances of the dry manner prevalent in later illumination. At first the prevailing colours are green, red, and yellow, as in Carolingian work. Norman MSS. are more moderate in decoration than those of Artois, Paris, or Picardy. Limoges, the only school in Central France noted for brilliancy, is influenced by enamel work, and uses intense blues, reds, and greens with harmonious effect, but on coarse parchment.

CHARACTERISTICS OF WESTERN ILLUMINATION DURING THE
XII. CENTURY.

FIGURE.—In many instances greatly improved and possessing dignity and strength. Single figures in panels form a feature of some French examples, employed as initial "I." The outlines are stiff, the attitudes formal and suggestive of glass painting.

LANDSCAPE AND BACKGROUNDS.—Towards the end of the century external natural scenery begins to appear, very rudely and coarsely attempted, in Netherlandish MSS, at first merely a deep blue to represent the sky, or a single tree on a diapered or enamel ground.

ORNAMENT.—Becomes richer in foliage drawing, and more full and compact in the coils and stems. Animals placed among the branches on coloured and burnished gold grounds, to support the branch-work. Initials still large and elaborately designed. No borders except to panels, the limbs of the initials often sweep beside the text. Cistercian MSS. often ornamented simply in coloured inks or even in monotone, as in a dull red. Initials often surrounded by mere pen-work flourishes, which sweep to considerable distances from the letter, and form a sort of border to the text.

TECHNIC.—The application of *gouache* carried to great perfection. Four colours only used, as a rule, blue, red, green, and yellow.¹ Sometimes slate-violet added. German taste, however, prefers the tinted outline. English and Norman MSS. also prefer the pen to the brush. Gold applied as a liquid, as well as in leaf, with a *gesso* ground. Italian MSS. illustrated in the same way, with pen-drawings. The methods in use during this period are set forth in the treatises by the Monk Theophilus and others.

¹ Four vehicles, or media, were also in use :—fish or parchment size, white of egg, gum water, and honey water. Of these the size and white of egg were most common.

SAXON, RHENISH, BAVARIAN, AND OTHER GERMAN AND
FRENCH MSS., IX.—XIII. CENTURY.

Name.	Location.	Date.	Remarks.
Wessobrunn Prayer-book.	Roy. Libr., Munich.	c. 814.	Contains 16 small pen-drawings. (See WAA-GEN, <i>Handbuch der Deutschen und Niederländischen Malerschulen</i> , I, 5. Stuttgart, 1862, and KUGLER, <i>Kleine Schriften</i> , I, 76. 1 cut.)
Gospel-verses of Ottfried of Weissenburg (Alsace).	Univ. Libr., Heidelberg (Pal. Lat. 52r).	9th cent.	Rather Anglo-Saxon than Carolingian in character, as it is chiefly illustrated with pen-drawings. (For this and other Heidelberg MSS., see BARTSCH's catalogue, and A. von OECHELHAEUSEN, <i>Die Miniaturen der Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Heidelberg</i> , Theil I. Heidelberg, 1887.)
Donatus.	Libr. of St. Gall.	" "	Pen-drawings.
Thomas Gospel-book.	Cathed. Libr., Trèves, no. 134.	" (early).	Probably executed at St. Gall. Signed, "Thomas Scripsit." Franco-Celtic in colours. (See LAMPRECHT, <i>Initial-Ornamentik</i> , pl. 3 a, b, 5.)
Gospel-book.	Nat. Libr., Paris, 8851.	c. 975.	Contains medallions of the Emperor Henry the Fowler, and the first two Othos. (See <i>Miniatures Impériales</i> , in CAHIER, <i>Nouveaux Mélanges</i> , I.)
Egbert Codex.	Pub. Libr., Trèves, no. 24.	977-993.	Executed for Egbert, Archbishop of Trèves, counsellor to Otho II. Written c. 980 by Kerald and Heribert, two monks of Reichenau, and adorned with most beautiful initials. (See LAMPRECHT, <i>Initial-Ornamentik</i> , pl. 22; F. X. KRAUS, <i>Die Miniaturen des Codex Egberti in unveränderlichem Lichtdruck herausgegeben</i> . 60 plates. Freiburg im Breisgau, 1884; and KOBELL, <i>Kunstvolle Miniaturen und Initialen</i> , p. 19.)



Name.	Location.	Date.	Remarks.
Gospel-book of Echter-nach.	Mus. at Gotha.	c. 990.	Contains portraits of Otho III. and his mother, the Empress Theophano. Noted for its splendid jewelled covers. (For covers, see F. BOCK's article (with 1 engr.) in <i>Zeitschrift für Christliche Archäologie und Kunst</i> , herausgegeben von F. v. Quast und H. Otte, II, 241. Leipzig, 1858. See also G. RATHGEBER, <i>Beschreibung der herzogl. Gemälde-Galerie zu Gotha</i> , part I, pp. 6-20. Gotha, 1835; for miniatures, J. H. von HEFNER - ALTENECK, <i>Trachten, Kunstwerke und Geräthschaften</i> , 2 ed., pl. 89; and for initials, LAMPRECHT, <i>Initial - Ornamentik</i> , pl. 22-26.)
Otho Codex.	Roy. Libr., Munich, Cml. 58.	c. 998.	Contains enthroned portrait of Otho III. and a pendant of figures of tributary provinces. Sent by Henry II. to Bamberg. (See Miniatures Impériales in CAHIER, <i>Nouveaux Mélanges</i> , I. L. v. KOBELL gives 3 plates in his <i>Kunstvolle Miniaturen und Initialen</i> . München, 1890; and WOLTMANN and WOERMANN, 2 cuts in their <i>History of Painting</i> , I, 262-3.)
Gospel-book of St. Jacques, Liège.	Royal Libr., Brussels, no. 18383.	10th cent.	
Gospel-book.	Brit. Mus., Egert. 608.	„ „	Contains beautiful branch-work initials, etc.
Gospel-book.	Pub. Libr., Trèves, no. 1378.	11th cent. (late), or 12th (early).	Contains beautiful initials. (See LAMPRECHT, <i>Initial-Ornamentik</i> , pl. 30.)
Gospel-book of St. Ulrich.	Roy. Libr., Munich.	923-973.	
Gospel-book of St. Henry of Würzburg.	Pub. Libr., Würzburg.	980-1018.	
Bamberg Missal.	Cath. Libr., Bamberg.		
Worms Sacramentary.	Arsenal Libr., Paris, 610.	10th cent.	Similar to the Drogon Sacramentary (p. 72).
Antiphoner.	Nat. Libr., Paris, Th. Lat. 9448.	c. 975-1000.	A reproduction in LABARTE, <i>Histoire des Arts Industriels</i> , 2 ed. I. 51. Paris.

Name.	Location.	Date.	Remarks.
Gospel-book.	Pub. Libr., Bremen.	c. 1040.	Once belonged to the Emperor Henry III. (1039-1056).
¶ Muller, H. A., in Mittheil. der K. K. Central-Commission, 1862. Woodcut, p. 57.			
Gospel-book of St. Bernward.	Cath. Libr., Hildesheim.	993-1022.	Belonged to Bishop Bernward.
Gospel-book of Abbot Ellinger.	Roy. Libr., Munich, no. 31.	c. 1056.	Written by Abbot Ellinger of Tegernsee. (See KUGLER, <i>Kleine Schriften</i> , I, 83.)
¶ Muller, H. A., in Mittheil. der K. K. Central-Commission, 1862, p. 57.			
Psalter of Stephen Harding.	—	12th cent.	Remarkable pen-drawings.
Hortus Deliciarum.	Formerly in Publ. Libr., Strasburg, but burnt during the bombardment in 1870.	" " " probably begun c. 1175.	(Description and plates by C. M. ENGELHARDT, <i>Herrad von Landsperg . . . und ihr Werk. Hortus deliciarum</i> . Stuttgart, und Tübingen, 1818. (See also <i>Hortus deliciarum</i> , par l'abbesse Herrade de Landsperg. Reproduction héliographique d'une série de miniatures, calquées sur l'original. . . . Texte explicatif par A. Straub et G. Keller. Published by the Société pour la conservation des monuments historiques d'Alsace. Strasbourg, 1890.)
Life of the Virgin. "List von der Maget."	Roy. Libr., Berlin.	c. 1173-1200	Executed by Werinher of Tegernsee for Emperor Frederick I. Black and red pen-drawings. (See F. T. KUGLER, <i>Kleine Schriften und Studien</i> , I, 12. <i>Cuts</i> . Stuttgart, 1853.)
Plenarium of Abbess Agnes of Quedlinburg.	Town Libr., Quedlinburg.	1184-1203.	Copy of an 11th century MS.
Arnstein Passionale.	Brit. Mus., Harl. 2800-2.	c. 1194.	Written for the Castle Abbey of Arnstein, near Trèves.
Arnstein Bible.	Brit. Mus., Harl. 2803.	c. 1190.	" "
Psalter.	Cath. Libr., Bamberg.	12th cent.	See KUGLER, <i>Kleine Schriften</i> , I, 92.
Floreffe Bible.	Brit. Mus., Add. 17737-8.	c. 1153.	Executed at Floreffe, near Namur. Chronological tables in coloured inks finely drawn.
Psalter.	Brit. Mus., Roy. 7. E. vi.	12th cent.	
Missal of St. Bavon, Ghent.	Brit. Mus., Add. 16949.	1150-1175.	
Bible fragment.	Brit. Mus., Roy. 1. C. vii.	c. 1150.	
Chronicle of Jerusalem.	Roy. Libr., Brussels, no. 11142.	1130-50.	Minatures.

Name.	Location.	Date.	Remarks.
Arundel Psalter.	Brit. Mus., Arund., 155.		
" "	" " " 157.	12th cent.	An example of transition from Winchester work to that of XIIIth century.
Lansdowne Psalter.	" " Lansd. 420.	" "	
" "	" " " 431.	" "	
Royal Psalter.	" " Roy. 1. D. x.	" "	
Wallenstein Psalter.	Libr. of Prince Wallenstein at Maihingen near Nördlingen.	" "	The Calendar has illustrations of the occupations of the months.
Aschaffenburg Gospel-book.	Roy. Libr., Aschaffenburg, no. 3.	" "	See J. MERKEL, <i>Die Miniaturen in Aschaffenburg</i> , p. 12. Aschaffenburg, 1836.
Weingarten Psalter.	Priv. Libr. of King of Würtemberg at Stuttgart.	" "	Contains figures of warriors, ecclesiastics, dancers, etc. (See F. T. KUGLER, <i>Kleine Schriften und Studien</i> , I, 69.)
Evangeluary.	Roy. Libr., Brussels, no. 10527.	" "	
Harley Bible.	Brit. Mus., Harl. 2798-9.	" "	See above Arnstein Bible. Written for Monastery of St. Nicholas of Arnstein, near Trèves. A typical example of the style of the 12th century.
Vauclore Psalter.	Libr., Laon, no. 29.	" "	"Irreproachable in execution, and may be considered a type of perfection." See E. FLEURY, <i>Les Manuscrits à miniatures de la Bibliothèque de Laon</i> , I, 65. 1 lithogr.
Evangeluary.	Libr., Laon, no. 243 bis.	" "	See E. FLEURY, <i>Les Manuscrits de Laon</i> , I, 106. 3 lithogr.
Historia Scholastica Petri Comestoris.	Roy. Libr., Munich, 13a.	13th cent.	Executed by Conrad von Scheyern.
Salomonis Episc. Const. Mater Verborum.	Roy. Libr., Munich, Lat. 7 c.	1241.	Executed by Conrad von Scheyern. With astronomical, medical and anatomical, and musical diagrams and drawings. Title of Christ as the Microcosm.
Harley Psalter.	Brit. Mus., Harl. 5102.	13th cent.	Virgin and Child. David anointed. Martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

The Library of Laon contains many other superb examples of 12th century MSS., e.g., nos. 18, 42, 57, 74, 78, 108, 120, 225, and 251. (See E. FLEURY, *Les Manuscrits . . . de Laon*, I, 63-119. Lithogr.)

INTRODUCTION TO VIII

THE RISE OF GOTHIC ILLUMINATION.

In the chapter on Byzantine illumination frequent reference is made to the Greek Manual or Guide, the famous collection of rules, precepts, or instructions, which the miniature painter was bound to obey, and which brought about the formal and ultimately lifeless character of all later Byzantine work. To a certain extent, but certainly more by example than precept, this Greek Manual was made use of in formulating the practice of some of the best Western Scriptoria. But its authority never became compulsory, a circumstance that left room for all the endless variety which is found in Western illumination, and the artists of the West had in fact other guides. Towards the beginning of the eleventh century there seems to have been in use a guide bearing the name of Eraclius, the *Tractatus de coloribus et artibus Romanorum*. This treatise was made up of the various precepts of the painter's art as known to Pliny and the ancients, augmented by some of the discoveries or inventions of the Byzantines, and was probably the sum of the experience of the schools of Monte Cassino, Tours, Metz, Winchester, and other famous centres of production, compiled by the monastic practitioner whose name it bears. From the fact that it is not mentioned by Isidore of Seville in his encyclopedia, we argue that it was not in existence so early as the seventh century and the absence of any allusion to Arabian science in the treatise itself implies that it was not compiled much later than the end of the tenth. Nevertheless it is chiefly based on Roman practice, as distinct from Byzantine, and its chapters on the Western arts of glass-painting and metallurgy refer it to a period when these arts had made some progress in France, Germany, and Italy.

But whatever its exact date, it was speedily and entirely surpassed by another of somewhat later origin, detailing the methods and secrets in use among the various artistic professions, and comprising chemical and scientific formulas which prove the author's acquaintance with Spanish and Arabian processes of gilding, with the Tuscan art of enamelling, the French art of glass-painting, the German skill in ironwork, the universal practice of illuminating books, and in short with whatever was known and

practised in the industrial or sumptuary arts of his time. The author is sometimes said to have been a German, sometimes claimed as an Italian. It is certain only, that he was a Benedictine monk, and from one copy of his book, which bears the title of "*Diversarum Artium Schedula*" we learn that his name was Rugerus or Rogkerus. In other copies he is called Theophilus Presbyter, which is most likely the name assumed by him on entering the monastic life. One copy is called *Tractatus Lombardicus*. It is therefore possible that he may have been a German by nation, as he was a monk of Helmershausen; and resident for a time in some North Italian monastery. His directions for painting portraits and figures refer to the very methods practised in Lombardy and the Tuscan cities in the thirteenth century, which had been continued there ever since the time of the Byzantine Exarchate.

This treatise of Rugerus or Theophilus, apart from the rest of its contents, is a valuable guide to the illuminator. It explains how to lay grounds of leaf gold, and how to gild letters therewith. Also how to gild with shell or liquid gold, both in the Italian and Flemish manner, and how to burnish the gold. It tells how colours are ground and varnishes compounded and what vehicles are best for various processes. It describes the mixture of pigments, and states which are most suitable for using on parchment, but it does not enumerate except incidentally, the various tools necessary to the work. As the processes of the scriptorium were familiar to almost every cloister, this was perhaps considered unnecessary. It mentions, however, linen paper, under the name of Greek parchment. One fact noted in the treatise, though not directly connected with miniature art, is worth notice, as showing the truth about painting in oil. Vasari for a long time misled his readers by stating that the discovery of oil painting was due, or at least generally attributed to John van Eyck, about 1410. The text of Theophilus categorically establishes the fact that the use of siccatives and varnishes and the practice of painting with an oil medium, were known in his time, and probably might be dated much earlier.¹

¹ A good edition of Theophilus was published in 1847 with an English translation, by R. Hendrie, who puts the date of the original as far back as the eleventh century. Later editions, and that of Count Ch. de l'Escalopier, Paris, 1843, with apparently better reasons, assign the work to the latter part of the twelfth century. In this opinion M. de l'Escalopier had the support of M. l'abbé Texier (*Annales Archéologiques*, iv, 153), M. Didron (*Annales Archéologiques*, i, 135; xi, 302), M. Guichard, who wrote the

We have had so much to say about the use of gold in illuminating that it would seem impossible for its mode of application to become even more effective than it had been in the ninth and tenth centuries, or during the magnificent period of the St. Gall Codex Aureus. But in fact the burnishing or polishing of the metallic surfaces and ornaments in MSS. only reached its highest perfection in the fourteenth century. For the sake of fixing definitely in the memory the various epochs of revival or transition, I have attached to them the names of contemporary sovereigns. To this Gothic or Pointed style which some excellent judges have considered the best and most thoroughly typical period of illumination, I would prefix the name of Louis IX. of France (1226–1270), popularly known in after times as St. Louis.

The rise of the Gothic influence forms the great dividing line between the old, or hieratic, and the new, or naturalistic, spirit, in monastic art. The art is, indeed, just emerging from the cloister and becoming a means of livelihood to townsmen outside the convent walls. But that is merely a collateral circumstance, not a cause. Many causes were

introduction to his edition, and M. l'abbé Bourassé, whose translation and notes are given in his *Dictionnaire d' Archéologie sacrée* (published by l'abbé Migne as vols. xi, xii, of his *Nouvelle Encyclopédie théologique*), II, 728, Paris, 1851. Mr. Hendrie had the good fortune to discover the text which he published, and which in some respects is the completest known, in a MS. in the Harley Collection of the British Museum. Bourassé uses this text, with additions from other MSS., and a copious appendix of very valuable notes. There is also a good edition, with German translation, by A. Ilg, published as vol. vii of R. Eitelberger von Edelberg's *Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte und Kunsttechnik*, Wien, 1874. While on the subject of these early treatises I may mention another important work of the fifteenth century, Cennino Cennini's *Trattato della Pittura*, which deals very fully with illumination; an English translation of this work was published by Mrs. Merrifield in 1847; two years later the same lady published an edition of various other treatises entitled "Original Treatises . . . on the Arts of Painting," in two volumes, London, 1849. In the National Library at Paris there is a large collection of MSS. collected or compiled by an early fifteenth century notary and licentiate in laws, named Jehan le Bègue, most of which are included by Mrs. Merrifield in the work cited above. Le Bègue included recipes obtained from Johannes de Modena, who practised at Bologna, and was famous as a miniaturist; also treatises by Petrus de Sancto Andemaro, Johannes Archerius or Alcherius, and several others then held in esteem; together with information got from Antoine de Compiègne, an illuminator of Paris about the end of the fourteenth century, and from Alberto Porzello, a noted calligrapher of Milan. To these are added various extracts from Theophilus, and lastly, the three books of Eraclius *de coloribus et artibus Romanorum*. Cennino Cennini's work was first published by G. Tambroni in Italian (Roma, 1821), and there is a later edition in the same language by G. and C. Milanesi (Firenze, 1859). A French translation of Tambroni's edition by V. Mottez was published in 1858. Vol. i of Eitelberger von Edelberg's *Quellenschriften* is a German translation, with notes, etc. by A. Ilg (Wien, 1871), and vol. iv an edition of the original text of Eraclius, with translation, notes, etc., also by Ilg (Wien, 1873).

combining to produce a complete revolution of artistic ideas. By the commencement of the thirteenth century the initial, which in Celtic and Carolingian art had dominated the whole page, is now losing its supremacy. It still holds control over the main lines of the ornament, but is becoming rapidly only one factor in the general design. A delicate fringework or filigree of pen flourishes which of late had sprung up around the lessening initials is converted into a tendril or slender stem bearing a succession of fine leaves and leaflets of ivy, mostly, perhaps at first entirely, filled up with burnished gold. Small figures and by and by groups of figures have taken the place of the linear ornament in the interior of the letter, and in short the fusion of calligraphy and miniature painting has at length taken place. The thirteenth century marks the stage of illumination when the art,

ch'alluminare è chiamata in Parisi,

has reached the fulfilment of its earlier promise, though not yet the complete attainment of its highest perfection. We cannot fix a precise date to the change. It is all a slow and gradual growth. The most we can do is to set a date against a certain stage and say this is what we mean by an epochal example. Such an example is found by some in the Psalter of St. Louis, or rather of his mother Blanche of Castile, now in the Arsenal Library, Paris. Some writers state the division thus,—in the twelfth century few or no portraits, in the thirteenth scarcely anything else in miniature art. Two centuries more and the art, as pure illumination, will have reached or even passed its climax. One fact seems certain, that in the thirteenth century France clearly surpasses the rest of Europe, Italy included, and hence we place the productions of the period under the name of St. Louis rather than under that of Frederick II. or Henry III., and hence Dante was constrained, Tuscan though he was, to give France the preference over Italy in speaking of the art. The name thus originating with French writers¹ has become its universal appellation, and the style, of which the *Credo*² of the Sire de Joinville is perhaps the earliest extant example, is the beginning of the naturalistic influence, which passing through a multitude of exquisite performances, culminates in the grand Hours of the Duc de Berry for its ornament and in the Grimani

¹ The word is found in the chronicle of Ordericus Vitalis (d. 1143). It does not occur in Isidore of Seville, nor is there any record of its use before the twelfth century.

² Executed in 1287.

Breviary for its miniatures. But in these two centuries what a world of artistic activity passes before us. To detail their productions in books alone would require volumes of description by a syndicate of the most erudite of antiquaries. Only here and there can we possibly glance at the most famous examples. Nor can we attempt more than the barest outline of even national peculiarities. Each variety that might claim to be called a national style begins with traces of strong French influence. To compare small things with great, as the Roman Empire became the recipient of all previous civilisations and the mother of modern nations, so France in the thirteenth century absorbed all previous varieties of book adornment and became the prolific source of all succeeding styles, since denominated national. Each offshoot in its new locality sooner or later betrays some fresh influence or interference which obscures its origin, and if not successfully scrutinised serves to mystify the student or seduce him into byways of mistaken provenance. Following the various clews as they present themselves the nearest approach to French work in manner and feature is Netherlandish. Next to this where sometimes the line can only be drawn by means of express notification or external data, we can only venture to say that the clearly distinct varieties are those of Italy, Germany, and England. Those of Spain, Portugal, Bohemia, and Hungary, though distinguishable to an eye long accustomed to the study, are still to others merely subvarieties of French, German, Netherlandish, or Italian. As for the still finer distinctions of local schools such as Parisian, Limousin, Poitevin, Burgundian, in France; Gantois, Brugeois, in the Low Countries; Rhenish, Bavarian, Saxon, Westphalian, in Germany; Bolognese, Tuscan, Milanese, Neapolitan, in Italy; Westminster, St. Albans, Norwich, York, in England, we only dare affirm that at times the internal evidence is unmistakeable, but that for the most part only the actual history of the MS. can be quite relied upon. For example some Netherlandish MSS. seem to be purely Bolognese, others Florentine, the explanation being that though executed in Bruges they were by resident Italian artists.¹ So many, indeed, and various are the pitfalls in this part of the study of miniature art, into which even experienced writers, such as Waagen and Ottley, Laborde and Cahier, have fallen, that it behoves the student to be extremely cautious. He may rest assured that the only sound basis in the science of origins is actual history.

¹ Or by Netherlandish artists who had lived in Italy.

It is true of philology, it is no less true of art. However sure we may feel that the physiognomy of a miniature betrays its paternity, we can only be certain of its true origin when we know its actual parentage. Still the more we know of styles and variations the more likely we are to alight upon the tracks which we ought to follow. We may always acquire such general knowledge of national features that we can say, generally, to what great period or class or nationality a MS. is assignable. To attempt more than this will demand that we take into account particulars which we may not have studied, such as quality of the vellum, watermarks of the paper, etc., age and character of the handwriting, peculiarities of handling in the painting, details of foliage, drawing of ornament or of facial expression, drapery, choice of colours and their arrangement, the actual pigments employed, their mode of application whether by this or that medium, and a variety of odd particulars which only experience can suggest, and, after all, our labour may be valueless compared with one little fact in the shape of a notice of the MS. itself in the account book of the church, or the register of the monastic or princely house for which the work was executed.

After the thirteenth century, these latter means of identification become increasingly available. In England we find them, in part at least, in cathedral account books and monastic rolls. In France they occur also in the household expense books of noble families; in the Netherlands in these and in guild-books. In Germany and Bohemia also the guild- and club- books are sources of information in addition to the ecclesiastical and monastic records. In Italy the registers of churches and religious foundations abound with notices, and supply even the very items of the artists' charges, while the official lists of members belonging to the various artist-guilds are still preserved in many once-busy artistic cities. Of course this kind of reference is only to be sought for the identification of the highest class of work. In the case of inferior efforts, not only are the records less available, but it may be that the work is no evidence of the real state of the arts in the locality or at the time of its execution. It may be merely some ordinary effort of an amateur who had a really good work before him, which is now lost, or perhaps stored away in some far-off collection. The student of illumination for its own sake will do well not to waste time on poor or inferior examples, for after the thirteenth century such examples are not types of the highest state of the art.

The best work is always worth examination. The interesting fact to arrive at, after the local or personal details of any [example, is the proximate source or origin of its special features so as to classify it with its proper family. For, of course, the object of study, after the mere gratification of the eye, is classification, and the purpose of classification, correct historical knowledge, so that an artist in any modern application of book ornament may avoid anachronism and false association. One reason why illumination as a modern subject of art study has failed to secure a permanent position is its frequent and culpably-ignorant conjunction of incongruous features. Another reason is not far to seek. For any art or style to have a truly vital hold of any age of the world's history it is indispensable that it shall be absolutely contemporaneous. When the promoters of this study some 40 years ago, led by the enthusiastic admiration of an eloquent apologist, fixed upon the illumination of the fourteenth century as the very style to revive and reproduce in this nineteenth, they forgot and overlooked the fundamental principle, and neglected the universal experience, that no transplanting of that kind can possibly succeed. Fourteenth century art wanted fourteenth century ideas and surroundings to give it vitality. The art that might possibly have taken root would have been, not fourteenth century work filched up root and branch and set down among nineteenth century environments, but such a style as fourteenth century art might have reached had it continued to live and grow from then till now. The art of a century later was at least so much nearer our own, and if not itself available would still be a better guide towards the modern idea. But to lift a dead art out of its own familiar surroundings and to plant it in the midst of others possessing scarcely a single element in common, seems the very acme of futility. If this art can be revived, it must be by drawing its sustenance from living tastes and sympathies. It must be *en rapport* with its time. If it cannot attain this it will not live, nor can any amount of archæological enthusiasm give it more than a spasmodic and momentary existence.

I have mentioned two reasons for the speedy decline of the modern craze for illumination, for such it really was. Another lies in the vast throng of competing modes of book-illustration. In the middle ages these did not exist to trouble the illuminator, as the modern "processes" trouble the engraver. Another is found in the compara-

tive loss in our days of the mediæval fondness for really bright colour. Whilst the notions prevalent at present with regard to tone and shade and subdued artistic hues continue, it is hopeless to look for good illumination to be appreciated. It is only by the abandonment of the empiric and artificial trade promotion of pallid and sickly dilutions, in place of real and beautiful colours, that we can honestly appreciate the tastes of our ancestors, or of the old world generally, for brilliancy and splendour of colour, and richness of costume. The taste for colour, it may be said, is now a thing of the past, and, for anything we know to the contrary, it is likely to remain so.

VIII

FRENCH ILLUMINATION AND ITS OFFSHOOTS.

Since the establishment of the great universities and the consequent secularizing of the arts of book decoration, guilds, or at least small communities of craftsmen, had been formed in every important country of Western Europe. We are, therefore, compelled now to recognise the nationality of the various styles. But whatsoever they are, French may be said to be the basis. If any other national varieties might claim exemption, they would be those of Germany. But after the prevalence of the Gothic influence it was French Gothic which more or less affected the rest in every land. In Italy and the South of Germany the foreign influence was rapidly overpowered, so that by the end of the thirteenth century the national characteristics are distinctly recognisable. We will take them in the order of their growth, so begin with France.

The work of the early fourteenth century in France is frequently spoken of as the type of all the best illumination of every period, but this is neither true nor just. It has arisen partly from the fact of its distinct superiority to all contemporary work and partly from the majority of examples produced in other countries tending rather towards simple painting. One of the most distinguished and perfect archetypes of this much and deservedly celebrated French illumination is the MS. in the National Library, Paris, known as the *Évangélaire de la Ste. Chapelle*.¹ The initials are small, and filled in with

¹ Lat. 17326.

scenes or groups drawn with the utmost refinement of line, but they are designed rather in the spirit of sculpture than of painting, and suggest the low reliefs of cathedral walls or the wood-carvings of door panels. Continuing, in the forms of the letters themselves, to make use of dragons, birds, or fishes, the extremities are invariably transformed into long, sweeping, subtly curved stems, blossoming towards the extremities into delicate profile leafage supported by cusps of colour or bright gold, the whole finely but firmly outlined with black. The black outline is in fact the real work of the draughtsman, who still works with the pen. The panels and backgrounds of the miniatures, which are placed in square frames, are occupied with the peculiar chequer or diaper or damask work which points directly to the sister-art of the enameller. Not being pictures in the true sense, there is little or no attempt in the stories to introduce open-air scenery. The rule is a few flatly coloured figures forming a simple statuesque group, perfectly defined, upon a background of enamel,—the latter richly coloured and gilded, and finished with black and white in pencilling of the utmost delicacy of manipulation. If ever the air or sky is suggested, as it is at times in contemporary or following work, it is by a flat surface of blue, gradually paled to pure white at the horizon. One of the characteristic Bible illuminations is the Genesis page, which contains the initial “I” of the commencing words, with containing rectangular or cusped panels, or medallions, of the days of creation. In the Ste. Chapelle Gospels this initial “I” forms the Jesse tree which springs from the breast of the sleeping patriarch. The tree in a two-fold waving stem forms the cusped panels containing the figures above. The foliage usually selected by the illuminator from the varieties employed by the stone-carvers was the climbing ivy, and this became the leading form in all fourteenth century illumination, continuing in fact long after the introduction of other foliages to the very latest movements of Gothic art, and only superseded by the mixed flora and fruitage of the Renaissance. It has been often remarked that the severe and thorny evergreens of the Northern winter begin the series of Gothic foliages used by the illuminator. For a long time we find only the ivy and the holly. Then comes the spring with its smaller buds, its profile leafages and terminal leaflets, expanding and becoming sprays of open foliage at the terminals of the sweeping branches. On these are placed scenes from the

chase or from the outdoor sports of the time. As the style advances come the early summer flowers, and among them the Benedictines place the strawberry with its fruit, a favourite embellishment with the craftsmen and craftswomen of the early fifteenth century. Lastly we have autumn with its endless varieties of flowers and fruits, and then all the golden ivy leaves are dropped out, symbolism is abandoned, and only flowers and fruits are flung as it were by handfuls without careful adaptation. Their negligence of design is however to some extent condoned by their frank and direct, sometimes marvellous, imitation of nature. The intense love of nature and realism of this Gothic period enriches the pages of the manuscript with birds perching on the sprays, hares and foxes pursued by dogs and huntsmen, and groups from the boar hunt or the tournament. In numerous instances the once fashionable pet-monkey forms the general vehicle of jest and satire, and all kinds of grotesque combinations of beast and reptile serve to express the universal raillery aimed at the monastic orders. Monks and friars were no longer as popular as they had been, their rôle was almost played out, but the signs of the more serious protests of the Renaissance were now limited to jests and buffoonery. To such a pass was this feeling brought, that the very word "babouiner" became a recognized synonym for the trade, scarcely now an art, of the illuminator. Fleury gives many instances from the libraries of Laon and Soissons, and numberless others, such as the Arundel and Tenison Psalters of the British Museum,¹ may be found in every public library. The Psalter with its accompaniment of litany and canticles was to the thirteenth century what the Book of Hours was to the fifteenth, and often contains strong expressions of secular ideas in its ornamentation. At the end of the century the custom of introducing drawings at the foot of the pages upon the sprays of the bracket foliages became general, and to a certain extent followed fixed rules. Scenes of natural history occur, then field sports and games, next indoor pleasures, and lastly scenes from the History of the Church. Examples of this mode of illustration are found in Harl. 6563, 928, in Roy. 2 B vii., in Add. 17341 and many others. Portraiture very speedily became a marked feature of French illumination. The portrait of St. Louis occurs about 1320 in a register (JJ, 57) kept in

¹ Arund. 83, and Add. 24686.

the French Archives Nationales,¹ and that of Charles V., le Sage, in a MS. (Fr. 22912) of the National Library.² This is so frequently repeated in charters and other MSS. as to be easily recognized. Towards the end of the fourteenth century, the "history" or vignette of the initial becomes a true picture, and by the middle of the fifteenth the portrait has become a finished work of pictorial art. Meantime the separate miniature illustrative of the subject of the MS. has gone on increasing in magnitude and excellence. In the Angevin MSS. of St. Louis, the miniature is usually no more than a medallion of varied form, but exceedingly small. In those of the Valois under Charles V. it often extends quite across the page.

Under the Orleans-Valois of the fifteenth century, sometimes the whole page is taken up with the miniature and its border ornaments. The reflex character of illumination is nowhere more distinctly shown than in the French MSS. of the period from St. Louis to Philip of Valois. It is strictly representative of its own time, and shows as many of the characteristic features of contemporary art as any cathedral. One great feature of the cathedral is the window of stained glass,—the Sainte Chapelle is an epitome of the arts, in itself,—and the illumination is in fact a minute stained window on vellum. Another feature is its sculptured figures and foliages; the illumination repeats all this; in sculpturesque attitudes, draperies, and grouping, the fine pen-drawing following entirely the leading of the chisel. In fact the art of the age of St. Louis is at its best in coloured sculpture. Painting is not yet reached. Such as it is it only forms a minor part of the master-art of architecture, and shares its position with glass-painting, enamelling, and metal-work.

In the library collection the examples of French illumination of this period are neither numerous nor specially excellent. Some are fairly good. Among the best are Nos. 1517 (c. 1100), 4112 (c. 1250) and 1547 (c. 1380). The few others are of later work.

A short account of the works of Jean Foucquet and other later French artists will be given in Chapter XIII.

¹ Cut in A. LECOY DE LA MARCHE, *Les Manuscrits et la Miniature*, p. 181. Paris, 1884.

² *Ibid.*, p. 185.

CHARACTERISTICS OF FRENCH ILLUMINATION FROM LOUIS IX.
(1226-1270) TO PHILIP OF VALOIS (1328-1350).

FIGURE, ETC.—Fine pen-drawing of the most masterly skill, clearness, and delicacy. Draperies in flat tones of colour, shadow lines drawn with the pen, and angular. No colour in the faces, except an occasional touch of red on the cheeks. Brilliant tints of clear unbroken colours as scarlet and blue, heightened with very fine finishings of pure white. The scheme of colour shows the influence of glass painting. General effect, mere surface composition, not painting proper. Figures slender, with gentle undulating movement of body. Feet small and weak. Hands fairly drawn and often graceful in pose. Faces very delicately drawn.

LANDSCAPE AND BACKGROUNDS.—The background usually is a panelling of chequers or lozenges, as of mosaic or tapestry, in colours, or burnished gold, very delicately finished with black and white lines and dots. Sometimes the whole ground is burnished gold. Later a kind of open-air scene with trees, mountains, and buildings. The trees of the same rigid and symbolical kind as in glass painting, with severe black outlines and a bunch of typical leaves on a straight stem or trunk. At first the sky is made of a deep blue at top and graduated to pure white at the horizon, as if to indicate the first dawn of day after the dark sky of night.

ORNAMENT: INITIALS AND BORDERS.—Initials composed of strangely contorted monsters. The letter itself has a body of deep blue or rose graduated to a pale tint on one edge and finished with a filigree ornament in fine white and a fine white edge of wavy or serrated pattern. The interior spaces are occupied with small figures or simple sculpturesque groups, or with slender stems and ivy or some thorny, lobed leafage, on grounds of burnished gold. The border at first consists only of long sweeping stems from the letters, forming brackets partly surrounding the text, sometimes above and below, sometimes on one side only. The full all-round border is not yet developed. The initial letter is sometimes placed in a richly enamelled panel with an ornamental frame, in which colour and burnished gold are interchanged and fine diapers of white are placed upon the colours. The branches and

sprays are supported by thorny cusps of colour or gold with firm black outlines. Among the foliages are introduced figures of animals, as hares, deer, foxes, dogs and monkeys, birds of bright plumage, and even insects. Foxes, monkeys and monsters are used so as to suggest various *drôleries*. The animals are drawn with firm, black outlines and are of similar character to the figures of painted windows. In the bestiaries and natural histories more especially, the forms are often fabulous. We find elephants with trumpet trunks and birds with beastlike limbs. In later works the small medallion miniatures are very numerous.

TECHNIC.—Pen-drawing in black, filled in with flat opaque colours, which are either diapered or else edged with fine lines of white, but the black outlines are mostly left clear and distinct. The colours used are deep and paled blue, scarlet, green, red-purple or wine-colour, white and black. The burnished leaf gold used for grounds, laid on a composition or “*gesso*,” in the small letter capitals, cusps, etc., to support the colours.

CHARACTERISTICS OF FRENCH ILLUMINATION FROM JOHN II. (1350–64) TO CHARLES VI. (1380–1422).

FIGURE AND ACCESSORIES.—Great improvement, owing in part to the renewed study of the nude, and to the carefulness of execution. Graceful pose of figure and extremely delicate drawing of hands and faces. Ideal draperies for sacred personages are still continued, but those for all others, and all accessories of costume and furniture, buildings, etc. are strictly contemporary.

LANDSCAPE, ETC.—Backgrounds remain as before in diapers and chequers until superseded by plain gold grounds or landscape; and architecture is introduced with trees, flowers, grass hills, sky and bright clouds in a naturalistic manner. The buildings are painted in paled tints of rose, ochre, green, blue, and grey. The perspective is still very faulty.

ORNAMENT: INITIALS AND BORDERS.—Initials and brackets continue the same in treatment. Holly and ivy leaf as heretofore, but small flowers such as roses and carnations are introduced into the centres of the spirals.

Small angel figures in long draperies, bearing pennons, musical instruments, etc. occur. Escutcheons or badges are introduced within cusped Gothic frames or panels. The favourite form of panel is a square, enlarged by semicircles on parts of its sides, placed lozengewise, and having a frame coloured red, white, and blue, or gold and either red or blue.

TECHNIC.—The painting executed in tempera or somewhat dull *gouache*, the modelling and shading carefully though somewhat flatly executed. Tender flesh tones in place of the plain vellum, as hitherto. Sometimes the grounds are gold, or of flat colour diapered with gold. In the miniatures of this period, painting once more begins to be practised according to its own laws, and is independent of the sister-arts. The court-school introduced by the sons of King John II. is really a Flemish school, all, or nearly all, its best practitioners being natives of the Flemish borderland working in Paris.

NOTABLE FRENCH AND ANGLO-FRENCH MSS., XIII.—XIV. CENT.

Name.	Location.	Date.	Remarks.
Psalter of Queen Ingeburga, 2nd wife of Philip Augustus.	Nat. Libr., Paris.	1,193-1,236.	Folio, with 27 large miniatures. (See LABARTE, <i>Histoire des Arts Industriels</i> , 2ed., II, 228, and DELISLE, <i>Notice sur le psautier d'Ingeburga</i> . Paris, 1867, in Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes.)
Psalter of Geoffrey, Archbishop of York.	Univ. Libr., Leyden.	c. 1200.	Belonged to Geoffrey, afterwards to Louis VIII.
Psalter of Blanche of Castile, mother of St. Louis.	Arsenal Libr., Paris, Theol. Lat. 165B.	c. 1220.	Partly of hieratic character. Reproduced in LACROIX and SERÉ, <i>Le Moyen-âge et la Renaissance</i> , II, pl. 12, 13.
L'Image du Monde.	Roy. Libr., Brussels, no. 12,118.	c. 1215.	
Golden Gospel-book of Hautvillers.		1212-3.	Executed in one year.
Psalter of St. Louis.	Nat. Libr., Paris, Lat. 10,525.	c. 1250.	Transition to Gothic. 78 small and delicate miniatures. (See WOLTMANN and WOERMANN, <i>History of Painting</i> , pp. 364, 363, and LABARTE, <i>Histoire des Arts Industriels</i> . Album, pl. 92. Paris, 1864.)

Name.	Location.	Date.	Remarks.
Chronicle of Gemblours.	Nat. Libr., Paris, Fr. 696.	1278.	Small scenes in initials and squares.
Passionale of Hautvillers.		1282.	Miniatures. Advance of naturalism.
Credo of the Sire de Joinville.	Nat. Libr., Paris.	1287.	In the Gothic manner. Several portraits of St. Louis.
Gospel-book of the Ste. Chapelle.	" 17,326. " Lat.	13th cent.	Beautiful initial I's. Bible characters in thirteenth century costumes.
Psalter of Alphonso, son of Edward I.	Brit. Mus., Add. 24,686.	c. 1284.	Known as the Tenison Psalter. Executed probably at the Blackfriars, London. (See pl. 4, in Sir E. Maunde Thompson's article on English Illuminated Manuscripts, in <i>Bibliographica</i> , part IV. SHAW, <i>The art of Illumination</i> , pp. 18-23, and a description, with cuts, by E. A. BOND in the <i>Fine Arts Quarterly Review</i> , I, 77.)
Bible.	Brit. Mus., Burney 3.	1225-52.	In two columns. Richly illuminated; worth careful study.
Origny Treasure-book.	Roy. Libr., Berlin, Print-Room, MS. 38.	1312-15.	Early attempts at shading in colours; tender and broken tones. (See WOLTMANN and WOERMANN, <i>History of Painting</i> , I, 365. 1 cut.)
Somme le Roi.	Brit. Mus., Add. 28,162.	c. 1300.	Contains nine full-page illuminations.
Life of St. Denis.	Nat. Libr., Paris, Fr. 2,090-2.	1316-1322.	In 3 vols. (See Palæogr. Soc., pl. 245-6, WOLTMANN and WOERMANN, <i>History of Painting</i> , I, 367, and BUCHER, <i>Geschichte der technischen Künste</i> , I, 221, 222.) Portrait of Philip V. in dedication picture. View of Paris. Beginning of genre painting. Birds, dragons, and drolleries in ornament. Shadows of draperies not black but deep local tone.
Bible of William of Devon.	Brit. Mus., Roy. 1 D. i.	c. 1310-15.	Beautiful text; fine work. A typical example of French style, but English execution, like the Tenison Psalter.
Abbreviatio figuralis historiæ.	Vat. Libr., 3,839.	1287.	Clunian MS. executed for the Abbot Yvo. (See SEROUX D'AGINCOURT, <i>History of Art</i> , pl. 70.)
Ormsby Psalter.	Bodl. Libr., Oxford, Douce 366.	End of 13th cent.	Norwich MS. In French style but executed in England.

Name.	Location.	Date.	Remarks.
Bible.	Brit. Mus., Add. 17,341.		Fine initials and bracket foliages like the Evangelary of the Sainte-Chapelle.
Psalter of Queen Isabella.	Roy. Libr., Munich, cod. Gall. 16.	1323.	In Norman French. Portrait of Isabella in initial A, coats of arms, etc.
Breviary of Belleville.	Nat. Libr., Paris, Lat. 10,483-4.	c. 1335.	Executed probably for Jeanne de Clisson. (See MOLINIER, <i>Les Manuscrits</i> , pp. 251, 252.)
Missal.	Roy. Libr., The Hague.	1323.	Scribe, Garnerus de Morolio; illuminator, Petrus de Raimbaucourt. (See WOLTMANN and WOERMANN, <i>History of Painting</i> , I, 368.) Remarkable for drolleries.
Pontifical of Hugues de Bar, Bishop of Verdun.	Libr. of Prince Lobkowitz, Prag. No. 225.	1352-61.	29 representations of church ceremonies, storied initials and drolleries.
Arundel Psalter.	Brit. Mus., Arund. 83.	1339, 1380.	Remarkable for drolleries and allegorical temple.
Royal Psalter.	" " Roy. 2 B. VII.	14th cent. (early).	Fine ivy foliages, pen-drawings and symbolic drolleries; very interesting scenes. (See Palæogr. Soc., pl. 99.)
Miroir Historial.	Arsenal Libr., Paris.	c. 1356.	An example of a very large folio MS., richly illuminated.
Livery of John II. of France.	Nat. Libr., Paris, Fr. 30.	14th cent.	Shows change from pen-work to body-colour painting again.
Louterell Psalter.	Brit. Mus. (entrusted to care of Trustees by the family of Weld of Lulworth).	c. 1340.	Richly diapered backgrounds. (See <i>Vetusta Monumenta</i> , VI, pl. 20-25, with text.)
Missal.	Westreenen Mus., The Hague.	1366.	Pen-drawing superseded by brushwork <i>gouache</i> . Illuminated by Laurentius of Antwerp, living at Ghent.
Bible of John II., called the Berry Bible.	Brit. Mus., Harl. 4,831	c. 1356.	Contains signature of the Duc de Berry.
Bible of John II.	Nat. Libr., Paris, Fr. 167.	1356-64.	Contains 2,564 miniatures.
Livery of Charles V.	Libr. of St. Geneviève, Paris.		
Bible of Charles V.	Nat. Libr., Paris, Fr. 5,707.	1364-80.	Miniatures in camaieu gris.
Charte Royale, Charles V.	Archives nationales, Paris. J. 54.	c. 1364.	Contains portrait of Charles V. in initial C. (See LECOY DE LA MARCHE, <i>Les Manuscrits et la Miniature</i> , p. 187.)

Name.	Location.	Date.	Remarks.
Charte Royale, Charles V.	Archives nationales, Paris. L. 852.	c. 1379.	Containing portrait of the King in initial K. (<i>See</i> LECOY DE LA MARCHE, p. 188.)
Charte Royale.	„ „ K. 49.	c. 1372.	Beautiful storied initial B, containing Blanche of Navarre. (<i>See</i> LECOY DE LA MARCHE, p. 190.)
Chronicle of St. Denis.	Nat. Libr., Paris, 8,395.	1375-80.	Miniatures in camaieu gris and gold. (<i>See</i> SILVESTRE, <i>Paléographie universelle</i> , pl. 156, and LACROIX and SERÉ, <i>Le Moyen-âge et la Renaissance</i> , II, Miniatures, pl. 7.)
Heures de Jean, duc de Berry.	Roy. Libr., Brussels, no. 11,060.	Before 1380.	Two miniatures by André Beauneveu, both reproduced in heliogr. in the following work, and 18 by Jacquemart de Hesdin. (<i>See</i> DEHAISNES, <i>Histoire de l'Art dans la Flandre</i> , etc. p. 252. Lille, 1889. He describes also the Berry Psalter and Great Hours.)
Epistle to Richard II.	Brit. Mus., Roy. 20 B. vi.	1370-80.	Written in Paris. Delicate ivy foliage, branches, and fine miniatures. Portrait of Richard. (<i>See</i> SHAW, <i>The Art of Illumination</i> , pp. 24, 25.)
Offices of the Blessed Virgin.	Brit. Mus., Harl. 2,897.	1389.	Called the Prayer Book of Margaret of Bavaria, wife of Jean Sans Peur, Duke of Burgundy. A fine typical MS. in every respect. (<i>See</i> SHAW, pp. 26, 27.)
Les Merveilles du Monde.	Nat. Libr., Paris, Fr. 2,810.	—	Scenes of adventure, peculiar foliage borders. (<i>See</i> HUMPHREYS, <i>The Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages</i> , pl. 15, and SILVESTRE, pl. 155.)

IMPORTANT FRENCH AND ANGLO-FRENCH MSS.,
XV. CENTURY.

Name.	Location.	Date.	Remarks.
Petite Heures du duc de Berry.	Nat. Libr., Paris, Lat. 18,014.	c. 1400.	113 miniatures "d'une beauté parfaite." (<i>See</i> SILVESTRE, pl. 154, there, as also elsewhere, called wrongly "Heures de Louis II. duc d'Anjou.")

Name.	Location.	Date.	Remarks.
Berry Psalter.	Nat. Libr., Paris, Fr. 13,091.	1401.	Exceedingly fine: 24 miniatures by André Beauneveu. (<i>See</i> MOLINIER, p. 245.)
Grandes Heures du Duc de Berry. ¹	Nat. Libr., Paris, Lat. 919.	1409.	Illuminated by Jacquemart de Hesdin, André Beauneveu and Pol de Limbourg. (<i>See</i> HUMPHREYS, <i>The Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages</i> , pl. 21, WOLTMANN and WOERMANN, <i>History of Painting</i> , I, 379, 380, and SILVESTRE, pl. 158.)
Poems of Christine de Pisan.	Brit. Mus., Harl. 4,431.	Before 1406.	Many miniatures and exceedingly fine illumination. Portraits of authoress, etc.
Heures du duc de Berry.	Libr. of Duc d'Aumale.	Begun c. 1410.	Called Heures de Chantilly. Considered the finest illuminated book of the period. ¹ (<i>See also</i> MOLINIER, <i>Les Manuscrits</i> , p. 252; E. MUNTZ, in <i>Gazette Archéologique</i> , x, 169. 1 helio-engr.; and A. LECOY DE LA MARCHE, in <i>Gazette des Beaux-Arts</i> , 2s., xxx, 74. 1 helio-engr.)
The Shrewsbury Romances.	Brit. Mus., Roy. 15 E. vi.	—	Many curious miniatures, borders, etc., portraits of Henry VI. and Margaret of Anjou. Presented by Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, on the King's marriage. (For this and the 4 following MSS., <i>see</i> VALLET DE VIRIVILLE, <i>Notice de quelques manuscrits . . . écrits et peints en France durant l'époque de la domination Anglaise au XVe siècle</i> . Cuts. Also in <i>Gazette des Beaux-Arts</i> , Paris, 1866.)
Breviarium Sarisburiense of John Duke of Bedford.	Nat. Libr., Paris, Lat. 17,294.	c. 1430.	Exceedingly rich in miniatures and ornaments left unfinished. Partly French.
Offices of the Duke of Bedford.	Brit. Mus., Add. 18,850.	—	One of the richest illuminated books in existence, full of miniatures, borders, and initials in brilliant colours and bright gold. English, French and Netherlandish. (<i>See</i> R. G(OUGH), <i>An account of a rich illuminated Missal, executed for John Duke of Bedford</i> . 4 engr. London, 1794.)

¹ For this Berry MS., and those previously mentioned, *see* L. DELISLE, in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 2s., xxix.

Name.	Location.	Date.	Remarks.
Pontifical of Jean Juvenal des Ursins.		1449-1457.	Formerly belonged to the municipality of Paris. It was burnt during the Commune, 1871. Very large folio. Two full-page miniatures, 138 large storied initials, 28 full borders, 86 three side brackets, 124 single-side ones. Of great value for its illustrations of furniture, utensils, buildings, and costumes of the 15th century. (See LABARTE, <i>Histoire des Arts industriels</i> . Album, pl. 93. Paris, 1864; and A. FIRMIN DIDOT, <i>Le Missel de Jacques Juvenal des Ursins</i> . Paris, 1861.)
Pontifical.	Brit. Mus., Add. 16,610.	c. 1450.	Fine illuminations and borders.
Valerius Maximus.	" " Harl. 4,375.		
Roman de Girart de Nevers, etc.	Nat. Libr., Paris, Fr. 4,092. (Fonds de la Vallière, no. 92.)		(See LOUANDRE, <i>Les Arts somptuaires</i> , text, II, 179. 4 chromolithogr.)
Tite Live, trad. de P. Berchoeur.	Brit. Mus., Lansd. 1,178.	c. 1420.	A fine French or Burgundian MS. with curious devices in the ornaments.

IX

GERMAN ILLUMINATION.

After the death of Otho III. (das Wunderkind) a series of political troubles once more brought about a season of neglect, and consequent decline, of the arts. Nor did prosperity attend them until the accession of the second of the splendour-loving Hohenstaufen Emperors, Frederic I. (Barbarossa, 1152-1190), a prince under whom the mediæval German Empire attained its highest pitch of grandeur. The glory reached by Barbarossa was somewhat fitfully continued by his eccentric, but marvellously-gifted grandson Frederic II. (Stupor Mundi, 1210-1250), whose court at Palermo was the resort of every one who had skill in art, science, or literature. For many years afterwards no such brilliant array of talents graced any European court. From this time, however, Italy began once again seriously to compete for the mastery in art, and the Sicilian Muse and the Tuscan School of Painting led the movement with the verses of Vincenzo, called Ciullo d' Alcamo, and the "*lingua cortegiana*" of Palermo, and the Madonna of Cimabue at Florence. The character of book illumination in the different parts of the great German, or, as it was called, the Holy Roman Empire, is naturally extremely varied, but there is no absolutely violent change requiring distinct classification. The ornament continues to consist of the branch and leaf work originally derived from the School of Metz, together with a characteristic preference for parti-coloured panel-frames. Of the miniatures, some are of the outline sort with thin and narrow washes of colour, others follow the Romanesque and Byzantine traditions, with greenish-grey flesh tints and dark red modelling finished in the high lights with white. Many of the examples already mentioned in the lists of the twelfth century are illustrative of the Hohenstaufen, or last Romanesque, branch of illumination, which ceases only with the universal adoption of the new Gothic ideas about the middle of the thirteenth. French influence, in consequence, overpowers all native efforts in both the Italian and the Teutonic provinces. Nor except in Suabia and Bohemia, does any native bias distinctly point to any characteristic divergence from the well-known French type. Other examples of true German art, such as the Gospel-book of Henry the Lion (c. 1175), the Psalter of

Hermann of Thuringia, the Weingarten Missal, etc., are evidence that the older national characteristics of German art, temporarily obscured by the innovations of this fashionable French ascendancy, are still those which reappear in the later productions of the Gothic period. For example, the last-named MS., which is a kind of Choir-book executed about 1200, and now kept in the Ambras collection at Vienna, shows the initials in *gouache* work of deep dull colours, but laid on with considerable dexterity. This is the characteristic German manner. Again, a Psalter in the Bamberg Cathedral Library contains a calendar with the usual month illustrations painted in *gouache*, two circlet medallions to each page. The zodiac signs are on green grounds. In French MSS. such grounds are usually blue. It seems a trifling difference, but it is really a national distinction. It is just the difference which often lies between French and German colour schemes. Its origin seems traceable to the Lombard illuminators of Monte Cassino, then it appears in those of Lotharingia and the German side of the Carolingian Empire. But whatever its origin, it is a sign of German as against French taste. The heraldry of Germany is as much in evidence as the illumination.

It is a great pity that so little has been recorded with regard to the miniature art of the Hohenstaufen period. It certainly is deserving of more attention than it has received. That an age so conspicuously illustrious in literature and so crowded with political events should have been overlooked in the direction of art seems incredible, and I can only hope that it is only my own ignorance of materials that has made it seem so dark to me. But I have found no clear record of it, at least on the German side. Some fitful and flickering gleams, it is true, flash now and then on the Sicilian and Italian jurisdictions. A solitary MS. is shown as the relic of a sovereign who wore seven royal crowns, who was king, with a distinct kingship, in Germany, Lombardy, Burgundy, Sardinia, Sicily, and Jerusalem; who was a warrior, a scholar, and a poet; master of four vernacular languages, devoted to the chase, an authority on falconry, the centre of the most brilliant court in Europe, and the handsomest prince of his time. We know he had a following of Minnesingers and that he encouraged literature and art. He must therefore have employed scribes and illuminators. Yet it is not until the accession of the House of Hapsburg that we meet with notable examples of miniature art. The death of Frederic II.

marks the proximate end of the Romanesque in Germany. I say proximate, for wherever the great highways into Italy were found, there it lingered and flourished, and so it comes to pass that Romanesque foliage survives in German MSS. of the Gothic period, conjoined with a pointed, cusped, and thorny set of accessories. Broadly speaking, the Gothic of Germany is harder and thornier in the North and about the Rhine, softer in the South and about the Danube. In brief, German Gothic is always more or less under the influence of the older Romanesque. The Jaromir Bible in the Bohemian Museum at Prague is distinctly French in the origin of its illumination, notwithstanding the Bohemian name of its alleged artist, Bohuss (Bohusch, or Bohuslav) of Leitmeritz. An initial "I" contains the date 1258.¹ On the other hand, the Wenzel Bible of the Vienna Library exhibits a totally different character of ornament. It was executed doubtless under Italian influence, that of Tommaso da Modena, who had worked at Prague for Wenzel's father the Emperor Charles IV. Somewhat more than a century had elapsed between the dates of the two MSS., and in the meantime Bohemian miniature had become almost a national art. From about 1350 a marked change separated German from both French and Italian art, and it may be said that the Bohemian school is the basis of the change. A perhaps unsuspected and still wider influence of this school founded by Charles IV. will show itself in another direction still later. This distinguished patron, the grandson of the Emperor Henry of Luxemburg, and son of the blind John of Luxemburg, King of Bohemia, whose romantic death at Crécy is remembered in English history, came to reside at Prague in 1346. He had been educated in Paris with his cousins, Charles, afterwards Charles V. of France, Louis, Duke of Anjou, and John, Duke of Berry, all celebrated for their possession of costly illuminated books. On the death of John the Knight-errant, whom, says the poet-annalist²—"Rien ne retenoit, fors l'honneur"—Charles (who at first was named Wenzel but afterwards took this name) became King of Bohemia at the age of 30, and in the following year was elected emperor. The year of his election was signalized by the

¹ Cut in BUCHER, *Geschichte der technischen Künste*, I, 219. I think this letter, however, manifestly a forgery. See WOLTMANN, *Zur Geschichte der Böhmisches Miniaturmalerei. Aufdeckung von Fälschungen*. In *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, II, 2. Stuttgart, 1879.

² Guillaume de Machault.

founding of the University of Prague, in which establishment he took the liveliest interest. Preferring Prague as his imperial residence, he greatly beautified the city, and built the famous bridge over the Moldau, until quite recently the most picturesque bridge in Europe. His tastes, like his father's, were French, only more distinctly literary and artistic. Of his four wives, the first was the sister of Philip VI. of France. Her four daughters married respectively the King of Hungary, the Duke of Austria, the Duke of Milan, and the Burggrave of Nuremberg. The son of his third wife was the dissipated Wenzel, who succeeded him in Bohemia. By his fourth wife he had a son, Sigismund, afterwards Emperor, and a daughter Anne, who became Queen of England, where her goodness made her memory revered, and her refined tastes created an epoch in English art. Charles died in 1378, having won by his accomplishments a reputation seldom surpassed, and leaving a royal residence enriched with costly treasures of art. His daughters inherited his splendid tastes and his fondness for literature, and carried their literary influence to the already cultured courts of their husbands. The great Gospel-book of the Archduke Albert II. of Austria by Johann von Troppau, or Johannes de Oppavia, finished in 1368, shows calligraphic skill of the highest class.¹ The Golden Bull of Charles, of which at least two illuminated copies are extant, is splendidly, if not altogether perfectly, represented by that of the Vienna Imperial library; and the so-called Wenzel Bible in six large folio volumes, two of which are richly adorned with initials, vignettes, and borders, is certainly one of the grandest MSS. of the period. This magnificent Bible was begun just before the king's death, to which event is doubtless owing its unfinished state. Both the Troppau Gospel-book and the Wenzel Bible are now at Vienna. The introduction of Italian artists, sent from the court of Milan to Prague, marks a definite departure from the hitherto characteristic French style, and the above-mentioned Bible is a typical example of the change. It has the soft curling foliages found in the illuminated work of Lower Bavaria. In this change to softer foliages and that in the figure painting, with its fresh rosy flesh tints, this Bohemian work is clearly recognizable as the actual source of the sudden change which takes place in the style of English illumination under Richard II. Until the arrival of Anne of Bohemia, English

¹ Example in SILVESTRE, *Paléographie universelle*, pl. 221.

work is barely distinguishable in its features from the French of the same date. Immediately afterwards, we find the new style, with its coiling, three-lobed, soft-leaved, varicoloured foliages, has attained popularity in every leading scriptorium in England, from St. Albans to Wearmouth, and from Norwich to Exeter. So rapidly is it developed, that by the time of Henry IV. it is the peculiar English style, distinguishable from both French and German. A close study of the Wenzel Bible illuminations with reference to others executed at St. Albans has led me to point out their similarity, and to conclude that the real introducers of the latter were not artists from the court of Paris, but artists from that of Prague, who accompanied the young princess from her father's palace in 1381. For 13 years, all too brief a time for England's welfare, "good Queen Anne," as she was popularly called, was the leader of every movement in art. One of her favourite studies was heraldry, as indeed it was a favourite study of the time, and to her patronage is due the first English treatise on the subject. Under English illumination, we may examine this question of its origin more attentively. Here we have to do rather with Bohemia itself, where it is a departure in an Italian direction, from French, which forms the national style. While French illumination attaches itself to the thornier and more delicate fronds of holly and ivy, German fixes itself rather upon the thick stems and close coils of twelfth century Romanesque floral ornament, and out of them develops a most graceful sweeping stem, and three-lobed leafage, on a scheme of linear design finely and carefully proportioned. The stem work of France solidifies the long pen-flourishes of the latest Romanesque calligraphy into a slender branch-work of subtler curvature than that of Germany, supported with cusps of gold or colour. At first the stems are rather bare of leafage, and form the "locale" of little figures or scenes of various kinds, but they eventually expand into full sprays of well-formed leaves, adding flowers, birds, and insects. In both styles this is the final result. The amusements and sports of the time are always faithfully chronicled in the little figures and vignettes, which survive until they are adopted among the cuts of the early printed books of Hours.

All along the Rhine from Zwolle to the borderland of Suabia and the Tyrol, the Rhenish German is the prevailing taste, more or less cusped and Gothic, yet always quite distinct from Norman-French and Parisian; while inland

from the Rhine, in Suabia, Franconia, Bavaria, Bohemia, and the south-east generally, the stem is almost entirely covered with a soft twining foliage, of which the two types are seen in the Wenzel Bible at Vienna, and in the copy of the first printed Bible now in the Mazarine Library at Paris. Another splendid example of the Bohemo-German of the period (1387) is the copy of Wolfram von Eschenbach's Wilhelm von Oranse in the Imperial Library at Vienna.¹ The same style was practised at Nuremberg in 1380, possibly carried thither also from Prague, in the train of Princess Margaret of Bohemia, wife of the Burggrave John. A Book of Prayers, written by Jodocus de Weronar, similar to the Vienna Bible in all respects except skill of workmanship, is now in the British Museum.² The initials, which contain figures of Christ and various saints on coloured grounds diapered with pencil-gold, are in the characteristic coloured frames. The letters are surface foliated, *i.e.*, have their surfaces filled in with the same soft curling foliages which are used for the brackets of branch-work outside the text. These foliages are green, blue, rose, and scarlet, worked in *gouache*, shaded with deeper tones, and laid on with a tolerably strong and gummy vehicle. The gold diapers are finished with great precision and delicacy. This is the general character of all this style of illumination. The examples in the library collection are very numerous. Among the best are 1107 (31), 1107 (34), 3055, 236 (5) and others. A later development converts some of the foliages into faces as 1107 (30), and 7657.

Of the Western or Rhenish variety, there are also many, some of which are strikingly skilful in execution; as *e.g.*, 236 (5), 283 (1), 1105 (7), 1107 (19), 1107 (22), 3055, 3071, 405, and others.

Of an intermediate or transitional kind are the fragments executed for some patron whose initial appears to be a German or Gothic *e*. The work is almost English in its character. It is interesting as containing a couchant hart, the well-known badge of several English princes and nobles.

More or less mixed also of Rhenish and Bavarian is the illumination executed by H. Cremer, of Mainz, about 1450,

¹ Fine chromo-lithogr. reproductions from this MS. are given in A. SCHULTZ, *Deutsches Leben im XIV. und XV. Jahrhundert...Grosse Ausgabe*, pl. 12-18. Wien, 1892.

² The MS. (Add. 15690) calls itself *Gebete des Heiligen Bernhard*, but is really a German translation of the *Meditationes de humanitate* of St. Anselm. It is very coarsely executed.

in the celebrated Mazarine Bible. Additional MS. 15,711, British Museum, shows a late and highly developed condition of the national style. It is a Book of Offices of the Virgin executed for the Abbot of a monastery in Upper Carinthia in 1513.¹ Of this late work many examples are preserved. Very similar are the MSS. executed by the Glockendons of Nuremberg, as, for instance, the Missal and Prayer Book of the Elector Albert of Brandenburg, Archbishop of Mainz, described by Merkel.² A Prayer Book of the highest degree of excellence by Albert Glockendon, whose brother Nicholas painted the Aschaffenburg MSS., is now in the Imperial Library (no. 1880) at Vienna. There is still another of Glockendon's MSS. in the Vienna Library, (no. 1849) but the former is the richer example. No. 1880 is called the Prayer Book of William IV., Duke of Bavaria, and is dated 1535.³ It once belonged to the Archduchess Margaret, sister of the celebrated Ferdinand of the Tyrol. Waagen considered it one of the richest illuminated books he had ever seen. It is indeed a monument of the most extraordinary technical skill, and recalls the powerful influence of Albert Dürer, who was the Glockendons' master. It even combines this with something of the manner of Holbein, and adds other features both of Netherlandish and Italian taste. Some portions are almost pure Renaissance, others as frankly Gothic. Certain miniatures are quite marvellous for their exquisite finish. The Shepherds at Bethlehem, the Flight into Egypt, and the Coronation of the Virgin are masterly imitations of Dürer's paintings of the same subjects in the Belvedere. The colouring both in miniatures and ornaments is exceedingly brilliant. The colours include minium of the finest purity, vermilion, lake, rich ultramarine, violet, two tones of green, one yellowish and bright, the other a rich veronese, and pure yellow. Besides these there are diapers and enrichments in gold and silver inks. Some of the vignettes are surpassingly lovely, as the one at the foot of folio 61, a green hairy woman, *la belle sauvage*, with an infant in her arms, resisting a rampant lion, while a savage man behind attacks him with a club. The examples of German art of all periods are exceedingly numerous in the library

¹ See also Add. MS. 17525, which is extremely refined in execution.

² *Die Miniaturen und Manuscripte der K. Bayerischen Hofbibliothek in Aschaffenburg*, pp. 7-10. Engr. Aschaffenburg, 1836.

³ J. N. C. M. DENIS, *Codices manuscripti...Bibliothecae Palatinae Vindobonensis*, II, 917. Vindobonae, 1802.

collection, and some possess great beauty. One example¹ may be specially pointed out as the work of a miniaturist of considerable ability, well known, and frequently mentioned in the annals of the monastery to which he belonged, but whose work elsewhere has hitherto been unheard of. It is a complete full-page frontispiece from a Choir-book, containing psalms, chants, hymns, etc., once used in the Abbey of SS. Ulrich and Afra at Augsburg, and from its dimensions it may be considered a work of some importance apart from the fact of its identification. By taking trouble such as I believed the work to deserve, I have been fortunate enough to fix its exact date, place of execution, and authorship, points of supreme value in the study of works of miniature art which are so often unsigned and so rarely dated. These three facts should always be sought for by the student as the ground-work of all accurate historical knowledge. The present miniature, I find, was painted 1494-95, in the Abbey of SS. Ulrich and Afra at Augsburg, by Georg Beek, or his son. The manuscript was written by Leonhard Wagner, who is shown in the miniature presenting the book to the Abbot, John of Gültlingen. It is also interesting to know, for the sake of comparison, that the large psalter which contained it was completed in about a year, including both the writing and the miniatures. We may form some idea of the wide-spread taste for the style of foliage ornament found, with but slight variation, in Rhenish, Suabian, Bavarian, and even Austrian illumination towards the end of the 15th century, when we learn that this later style of the Nuremberg MSS. executed by the Glockendons for the Elector Albert and Duke William IV. is assigned by the universal consent of German writers to the school of Cologne. A MS. in the University Library at Heidelberg is so designated. The student will find many examples in the library collection, and several MSS. in the British Museum,² that might almost be attributed to the same hand, so absolutely akin are they in taste and manner of execution.

After 1500 the growing influence of the Italian Renaissance greatly altered the character of German ornament, producing a tendency to abandon the hitherto characteristic foliages for the new architectural taste. Among many examples of this change we may place the celebrated Prayer book of William, count of Baden, in two volumes, now in the National Library, Paris.³ No trace of Gothic feeling

¹ Reg. no. D. 86'92.

² *e.g.*, Add. 17,525, 15,711, 24,153, Harl. 2953, etc.

³ MS. lat. 10,567-8.

remains in this beautiful work, which was executed in 1647 by Friedrich Brentel of Strasburg. It is done in a soft kind of *gouache* with extraordinary delicacy and high finish.

A much bolder style is found in the earlier Renaissance manner of Hans Mielich of Munich who, about a century previously, was court painter to Albert V., duke of Bavaria. Mielich worked for many years as painter, designer, and miniaturist. His great work is a copy of the Penitential Psalms, set to elaborate music by Orlando di Lasso. It is now in the Cimelien-Saal of the Royal Library at Munich. Five or six other works by the same artist are kept in the same collection, but this is by far the richest. It consists of two colossal folios of different dimensions, crowded from cover to cover with miniatures and ornaments in the most lavish profusion. Borders, panels, scenes, statuary, initials follow each other without stint. But the work is rather that of a painter than of a miniaturist, for there is no fine or delicate overworking for the sake of minuteness, nothing of the Clovio influence which we find in the great Missal executed 40 years afterwards (1581-88) by Georg Hoefnagel for the Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol, and now in the Imperial Library at Vienna.¹ Great indeed is the change from even the Augsburg Psalter, and still greater that to the innumerable crowd of albums which represent miniature art in Germany during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.² The last example I shall name is a great collection of readings, prayers, hymns, etc., in four folio volumes, which I may call the Augsburg Sunday Book, now in the British Museum.³ I cite this laborious, but by no means high-class production as a sample of the condition to which miniature art had sunk in Augsburg about the middle of the eighteenth century. Its author, Johann Gottfried Boeckh, calling himself Bürgerlicher Miniatur-Mahler, is perhaps a fair representative of the Wagners, Holbeins, and Burgmairs of the old artistic city, once perhaps the busiest centre of art and literature in Upper Bavaria, or for that matter in all Germany. He is a natural successor of the finical school of Kraus, by no means of the elder school of miniature or draughtsmanship. The whole four volumes seem to have been written and painted in the year 1748. They show a certain facility arising from practice, and some skill in composition and colour arrangement, but have departed entirely from the idea of the miniature painting of

¹ Respecting this MS. and those of Mielich, see my *Dictionary of Miniaturists*.

² A large collection of these albums is kept in the British Museum.

³ Addit. MSS. 27,338-41.

the fifteenth century. As for the cartouches and frames of the pictures, the flowers and flourishes, they need not be criticised. The book, which is intensely anti-Romanist, is a curiosity, remarkable even among the enormous polemic theology of Germany.

CHARACTERISTICS OF GERMAN ILLUMINATION.

FIGURE.—Much inferior, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, to the French work of the same period. Expression of the heads, childish, with upturned eyes; hair, carefully drawn; draperies, meaningless. For some time the French style quite overpowers native work. Animals rudely drawn. The best examples at this time of German work are those executed at Prague under the Emperor Charles IV.

LANDSCAPE AND BACKGROUNDS.—As in French work, but less skilful. The Gothic taste has almost entirely replaced older forms in the architecture and landscape. Diapered backgrounds are preferred to landscape. Sometimes in flat colour only, sometimes in colour, enriched with golden stars.

ORNAMENT.—As in French, but with a preference for a broader and heavier kind of foliage, which is afterwards specially characteristic of German work, with deeper, stronger, and gaudier colouring. The usual form is a long sweeping stem with three-lobed symmetrical fronds of leaves, very gracefully drawn, and often accompanied by small figures of persons, engaged in games, hunting, or fighting, animals, birds, or insects. Large studs, patines, and cusps of burnished gold, fringed with gold or black penwork. Another variety has thickly-leaved branches in bright colours, and a similar gold enrichment. The latter style seems to have originated in Bohemia.

TECHNIC.—The illuminators' directions sometimes found in MSS., as in the Wenzel Bible and the Wilhelm von Oranse, at Vienna, show the intended treatment of the letter or miniature. Dexterous pen-drawing, filled in with flat, soft, body colour, is the method during French influence. The faces are left uncoloured, with slight tints on lips, cheeks, eyes, and hair. A change from this mode of painting takes place about 1310, in the use of broken tones of colour and attempts at shading without pen-lines. About 1335 shadows are painted in darker local colour, the outlines seldom left. After

1350 the school of Prague rapidly abandons all traces of its French origin. The fine pen outline is continued, but colour is applied in thin soft washes at first. Afterwards the colour becomes more powerful, but is softly gradated, with warm flesh tones, and a radiant effect. Pure scarlet and blue, a fine, peculiarly bright green, and violet are among the colours used, without crudeness. The vehicle is much thinner and softer than in the older methods.

BOHEMIAN AND GERMAN MANUSCRIPTS,
XIV.—XVIII. CENTURIES.

Name.	Location.	Date.	Remarks.
Sachsenspiegel of Ritter Eike Repgow.	Univ. Libr., Heidelberg.	13th cent. (late).	With coarse pen-drawings. (See HEFNER-ALTENECK, <i>Trachten, etc., Kunstwerke, etc.</i> , 2 ed. etc., II, pl. 111, and KOPP, <i>Bilder und Schriften der Vorzeit</i> , I, 43. Col. engr. Mannheim, 1819.)
Tristan of Gottfried v. Strassburg.	Roy. Libr., Munich, Germ. 51, Cinel. 27.	c. 1339.	15 illuminations. Characteristic pen-drawn figures. Coloured backgrounds. (See KOBELL, <i>Kunstvolle Miniaturen</i> , p. 43, 1 photolithogr.; SILVER-TRE, pl. 216; KUGLER, <i>Kleine Schriften</i> , I, 88, 89; and WOLTMANN and WOERMANN, <i>History of Painting</i> , I, 370.)
Minnelieder.	Nat. Libr., Paris, Fr. 7266.	c. 1300.	Containing 114 very interesting miniatures of hunting and other scenes. Good for costumes; landscapes very slight.
"	Roy. Libr., Berlin.	1300.	
"	Roy. Libr., Stuttgart.	1250.	
Wilhelm von Oranse of Wolfram von Eschenbach.	Publ. Libr., Cassel.	1334.	Written for Landgrave Henry of Hesse. French style of art. (See KUGLER, <i>Kleine Schriften</i> , I, 53. 2 cuts.)
Biblia Pauperum.	Abbey of St. Florian, Austria.	c. 1325.	(See A. CAMESINA and C. HEIDER, <i>Die Darstellungen der Biblia Pauperum... Mit 84 Tafeln</i> . Wien. 1863, and, for notes on this and other MSS., LAIB and SCHWARZ, <i>Biblia Pauperum</i> , with illustrations of a Biblia Pauperum in the Lyceumsbibliothek, Constance. Zürich, 1867; and O. A. SPITZEN in <i>Het Guldeboek.... Uitgegeven door het St. Bernulphus Gilde te Utrecht</i> . Lithogr.)

Name.	Location.	Date.	Remarks.
Picture Bible.	Libr. of Prince Lobkowitz, Prague.	c. 1299.	(See J. E. WOCEL, <i>Wetislav's Bilderbibel aus dem dreizehnten Jahrhundert</i> . 30 lithogr. Prague, 1871.)
Passionale of Abbes Cunigunda.	Univ. Libr., Prague, XIV., A. 17.	1312.	Small marginal drawings; no French influence. Transparent water-colour painting. (See WOLTMANN and WOERMANN, <i>History of Painting</i> , I. 374. 1 cut; and WOCEL, <i>Miniaturen aus Böhmen</i> , no. III., 5 cuts, also in <i>Mittheilungen der K. K. Central-Commission</i> , 1860, p. 75.)
Weltchronik of Rudolf von Hohen-Ems.	Roy. Libr., Stuttgart.	c. 1350.	Of the old Cologne School. (See A. SCHULTZ, <i>Deutsches Leben im XIV. und XV. Jahrhundert</i> <i>Grosse Ausgabe</i> , pl. vi. -xi. Chromo-lithogr.)
Breviary.	Abbey of the Knights of the Cross, Prague.	1351.	In late Gothic style. Backgrounds blue, with gold stars. Thin water-colour gouache, on fine pen outlines.
Liber Viaticus.	Bohem. Mus., Prague.	c. 1360.	Executed for Joh. von Neumarkt, Bishop of Leitomischl. In the later manner; as regards the foliages, Bohemian.
Mariale of Arnestus.	Bohem. Mus., Prague.	c. 1345.	Written for Arnestus von Pardubitz, first Archbishop of Prague (1344-64). Bohemian. Rich in colouring. (For this and the Liber Viaticus, see WOLTMANN, <i>Zur Geschichte der Böhmisches Miniaturmalerei, Aufdeckung von Fälschungen</i> , in <i>Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft</i> , II. 9. 1 prototype; and for this and the 2 preceding MSS., WOLTMANN and WOERMANN, <i>History of Painting</i> , I, 383-385, 1 cut.)
Orationale of Arnestus.	Bohem. Mus., Prague.	„	French foliages prevail, of earlier Gothic style.
Missal of Ozko von Wlaschim.	Metropol. Libr., Prague.	1361-80.	Executed for Johann Ozko von Wlaschim, archbishop of Prague. (See WOLTMANN in <i>Repertorium</i> , II, 13.)
Pontificale of Albert von Sternberg, 4th Bishop of Leitomischl.	Libr. of the Premonstr. Mon. of Strahow, Prague.	1376.	(See Hodico, in my <i>Dictionary of Miniaturists</i> , and in G. J. DLABACZ, <i>Allgemeines historisches Künstler-Lexikon für Böhmen</i> , Prague, 1815.)

Name.	Location.	Date.	Remarks.
The Bible of the Emperor Wenzel (1378-1400).	Imp. Libr., Vienna, no. 2759.	—	Executed for Martin Rotlów to present to Emperor Wenzel. Very curious miniatures. (See LAMBECIUS, <i>Commentariorum</i> <i>Liber</i> II, 749. <i>Engr.</i>)
Gospel book of Johannes de Oppavia.	Imp. Libr., Vienna.	1368.	Beautiful text, and ornaments of borders, Bohemian. (See SILVESTRE, pl. 221, and Oppavia in my <i>Dictionary of Miniaturists.</i>)
Wilhelm von Oranuse of Wolfran. von Eschenbach.	Ambraser Samm., Vienna, no. 7.	1387.	Executed for presentation to Emperor Wenzel.
Salzburg Missal.	Roy. Libr., Munich, Lat. 15,710.	—	5 folio volumes. A splendidly illuminated book. It has been reproduced in colour.
Weltchronik of Rudolf von Hohen-Ems.	Publ. Libr., Stuttgart, no. 199.	1383.	Large folio. Miniatures, initials, arms of Waldeck. Of the Westphalian School.
Rationale of Durandus.	Imp. Libr., Vienna, no. 2765.	1384.	Written for Duke Albert III. of Austria. In the later German or Bohemian manner. Paintings finished later. (See WOLTMANN and WOERMANN, <i>History of Painting</i> , I, 386, 387, and LAMBECIUS, <i>Commentariorum</i> ... <i>Liber</i> II, 778. 2 engr.)
The Golden Bull of Charles IV. (1347-78).	Imp. Libr., Vienna, Jus civile, 333.	c. 1399.	Rich foliages of soft-leaved character. Miniatures inferior to ornament. (See LAMBECIUS, <i>Commentariorum</i> <i>Liber</i> II, p. 814.)
Furtmeyer Bible.	Wallenstein Libr., Mauthingen.	1403. c. 1400.	
Kuttenberg Gradual.	Imp. Libr., Vienna, no. 15,501.	15th cent.	In Bohemian style.
Missal of Sbinco Hasen von Hasenburg.	Imp. Libr., Vienna, no. 1844.	1409.	Written for Sbinco, Archbishop of Prague; very like the Nuremberg work; fine initials and borders. (See WOLTMANN and WOERMANN, <i>History of Painting</i> , I, 386.)
Book of Hours.	Brit. Mus., Add. 24,153.	1409.	Gaudy initials; not good work.

Name.	Location.	Date.	Remarks.
Würzburg Bible.	Brit. Mus., Arund. 106.	15th cent.	Large foliages; handsome initials; bright colours and bold drawing.
Prayer Book of Maria, Duchess of Gueldres.	Roy. Libr., Berlin.	1413.	Executed at Marienborn, near Arnheim, by brother Helmich.
Hildesheim Prayer Book.	Roy. Mus., Berlin.	1410.	Influence of School of Cologne.
The XII. Sibyls.	—	—	Beautiful illuminations, notable for their freshness.
Choir Books of Sister Margaret.	Pub. Libr., Nuremberg.	1458-1470.	By a Carthusian nun of St. Catherine's.
Bremen Prayer Book.	Pub. Libr., Bremen.	c. 1400.	English or Netherlandish influence in the miniatures and borders.
Missal of the Emperor Frederick III.	Imp. Libr., Vienna.	1448.	
Miracles, etc. of St. Jerome.	Pub. Libr., Stuttgart.	c. 1495.	
Gospel Book.	Pub. Libr., Nuremberg.	1498.	43 miniatures, splendidly coloured borders, and initials by Conrad Franckendorfer. (<i>See Franckendorfer, in my Dictionary of Miniaturists.</i>)
Choir Book of SS. Ulrich and Afra Augsburg.	Abbey of SS. Ulrich and Afra, Augsburg.	1489.	
Horae.	Univ. Libr., Heidelberg.	1495.	2 volumes. Miniatures and rich borders.
Offices of the B. Virgin.	Brit. Mus., Add. 15,711.	1513.	For abbot of a monastery in Upper Carinthia.
Missal and Prayer Book of Albert of Brandenburg, Archbishop of Mainz.	Libr. of the Castle of Aschaffenburg.	1524.	Executed by N. Glockendon of Nuremberg. Very fine work. (<i>See Merkel, Die Miniaturen ... in Aschaffenburg.</i>)
Prayer Book of William IV. of Bavaria.	Imp. Libr., Vienna, no. 1880.	1535.	By Albert Glockendon. A most sumptuous MS.
Book of Hours, or "Gebetbuch."	Brit. Mus., Add. 17,525.	1584.	In the Glockendon style.
Penitential Psalms.	Roy. Libr., Munich, Cimelien-Saal.	1570.	Executed by Hans Mielich for Duke Albert V. (<i>See Mielich, in my Dictionary of Miniaturists.</i>)
"Splendor Solis."	Brit. Mus., Harl. 3,469.	16th cent.	An astrological MS. on the transmutation of metals, and richly illuminated in the style of the Renaissance.
Book of Hours.	Brit. Mus., Egert. 1,146.	" "	Fine foliages and initials.

Name.	Location.	Date.	Remarks.
"Lusthoff."	Brit. Mus., Add. 30,035.	17th cent.	Large late German penmanship.
Book of Hours.	Brit. Mus., Harl. 2,898.	—	Rather good text.
Prayer Book of William of Baden.	Nat. Libr., Paris, nos. 10,567-8.	1647.	2 octavo volumes. No trace of Gothic work. Executed by Fr. Brentel, of Strasburg. Highly finished. (<i>See SILVESTRE, pl. 227, and Brentel in my Dictionary of Miniaturists.</i>)
Augsburg Sunday Book.	Brit. Mus., Add. 27,338-41.	1748.	Laborious, but inartistic and gaudy, miniatures, cartouches, etc. Executed by J. G. Boeckh.

X

ITALIAN ILLUMINATION

It has been said that the basis of every national style since the thirteenth century is French; and this is nowhere seen to be truer than in Italy. But nowhere was the style more rapidly transmuted and nationalised. The examples, still extant, of the earlier efforts of the Franco-Lombard Schools of Monte-Cassino, La Cava, and the Benedictine Monasteries generally¹ are either strongly Celtic, as being still under the influence of the calligraphers brought thither by St. Columban and his co-workers, or else weak and unskilful imitations of the contemporary art of France. On the other hand, in the work of the Sienese and Bolognese miniaturists following the old Byzantine traditions, there is a perceptible tendency towards the formation of a style differing from all its predecessors; and in the Sicilian MSS. executed for Frederick II., the aim at naturalistic treatment is conspicuous, although the result is rough and by no means satisfactory to modern eyes.² A Psalter in the Laurentian Library is distinctly Italian³ in its calendar picture, antique in costume, and fairly good in proportion. Similarly distinct from its French models is the "Summa" of Azo of Bologna, in the library at Laon.⁴ Azo was professor of Law in the University of Paris, in the thirteenth century, and presumably the MS. is copied from a French predecessor. Still more emphatically Italian is a collection of the Letters of St. Bernard, also in the Library at Laon.⁵ The latter MS. is dated 1330, and is one of the earliest Italian MSS. known to bear a date. Already the ornament has diverged from the French type and assumed the peculiar straight bar or rod with profile foliage, and the sudden reversions of the curves which are characteristic of the ornament of almost all fourteenth century MSS. executed in Italy. An example is given in Humphreys:

¹ For the MSS. of La Cava, see P. GUILLAUME, *Essai historique sur l'Abbaye de Cava*. Cava dei Tirreni; Naples, 1877. For those of Monte Cassino, see A. CARAVITA: *I Codice e le Arti a Monte Cassino*. Monte Cassino, 1869-71.

² Liber de Venatione avium. Vatican Library, Hist. Nat. 1071. Written by the Emperor Frederick II. himself.

³ No. 300. Thirteenth century.

⁴ No. 352. See FLEURY, *Les Manuscrits . . . de Laon*, II., 67. 1 lithogr. In 1227, a catalogue of books left by Cardinal Guala to the monastery of S. Andrea at Vercelli, proves that most of them were of French execution.

⁵ No. 168. See FLEURY, II., 69. 1 lithogr.

The Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages (pl. 16), in a page from the Bible of the Avignon Pope Clement VII. (Robert of Geneva, 1378-1394), and another from the same MS. in Silvestre: *Paléographie universelle* (pl. 117). The MS. known as the Poems of Convonevole da Prato,¹ executed for King Robert of Sicily (1309-1346), is an example of the Italian miniature art of the same date as the Laon Letters of St. Bernard. It shows good design, and considerable power of expression without the exaggeration of early Northern work. In the Library at Prague are several MSS. by an Italian artist of merit, presumed to be Tommaso da Modena, which had great influence in altering the types of the French and German foliage ornament and in bringing in another manner of figure painting, having a greater vigour and fulness of colouring and a stronger *impasto* in the *gouache* of the miniatures. The principal centres at this time in Italy seem to have been Bologna² and Florence. The Laon MS. of The Consolation of Philosophy by Boethius,³ is one of the most elegant examples of Italian illumination of the early thirteenth century, nearly coeval with the beautiful Missal kept in the archives of the Canons of St. Peter's at Rome, executed for Cardinal Stefaneschi (1327-1343), one of the patrons of Giotto. The pictures consist of storied initials, afterwards so common in MSS. executed in Dominican and Camaldolese convents in and near Florence. Of these the library collection contains many beautiful examples.

A class of Italian MSS., sometimes very splendidly executed, belongs to a very unpromising department of literature for miniature adornment, viz., Law Books. In the British Museum are several, two or three of them being of special richness;⁴ others are preserved elsewhere, as the Kremsmünster Bartholomeus de Bartholis, and the St. Florian Joannes Andrea. The Kremsmünster MS. is the work of Nicolaus of Bologna. Most of these Law Books point to Bologna as the chief seat of this class of work. The University of Bologna was famous for its school of law, and moreover maintained a large body of copyists

¹ Brit. Mus. Roy. 6 E ix.

² The probable residence of the Oderigi, "l'Onor d'Agubbio," both spoken of by Dante, and of the famous Franco. The latter was possibly a French artist from Paris established in Bologna, as the intercourse between the two university cities was very frequent. See WOLTMANN and WOERMANN, *History of Painting* I, 486, 504.

³ No. 437. See FLEURY, II, 79. 1 lithogr. Fleury calls it fourteenth cent.

⁴ e.g., 15274.

similar to that of Paris. Another variety of MSS. included an intermediate class between Civil Law and Divinity: the Ecclesiastical or Canon Law, and such works as the famous *Rationale* of Durandus, of which many fine examples are extant.¹ Of Biblical and Liturgical MSS. the number is immense. The name of Nicolaus of Bologna occurs (1328) in a New Testament now in the Vatican,² examples from which are given by Seroux d'Agincourt;³ also in a Missal in the Royal Library at Munich⁴ (dated 1374); and again in another at Venice in St. Mark's Library.⁵ A good example of the school of Bologna occurs in the St. Florian MS. mentioned above: *Libri VI. Decretalium . . . cum apparatu Joannis Andreae*, executed for Albert II. of Saxony, bishop of Passau (1329–1342).⁶ The Office of the Virgin at Kremsmünster is another; signed and dated in Bologna, 1349. In the Munich Missal of 1374 the heads are not only finely executed but also modelled with expression. The drawing is at times incorrect, but the colouring is rich and harmonious; good, but not excessive, use is made of gold in the grounds and draperies. This is the manner previously referred to as forming the Prague school of illumination. The careful execution in *gouache*, and the extreme neatness of finish, even in unimportant details, show a thoroughly practised miniaturist.

After the Law Books, the Italian illuminators occupied themselves with copies of the *Divina Commedia*, of the Triumphs and Sonnets of Petrarch, and of works of history and fiction; next to these, with beautifully transcribed copies or translations of the Greek and Latin Classic prose authors, especially Aristotle and Livy, and, as time went on, of the poets. But the really grand works of the Bolognese, Sienese, and Milanese miniaturists are the Choir-Books, many magnificent examples of which are still carefully preserved. Perhaps the most important of this class are those of Siena, Florence, and Verona, at least for the earlier periods. For the later, those of Pavia, Milan, Lodi, Venice, Rome, and Naples. The earlier ones show the influence of Pietro di Sano of Siena, the very earliest, perhaps

¹ e.g., Brit. Mus., Add. 31032.

² No. 2639.

³ *History of Art by its monuments*, pl. 79. London, 1847.

⁴ MS. Lat. 10072.

⁵ Cl. III. cod. xcvi.

⁶ For this and other MSS., see J. NEUWIRTH, *Italienische Bilderhandschriften in Oesterreichischen Klosterbibliotheken*, in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, ix, 385.

being of the time of the transition from Byzantine to the school of Giotto. The examples at Siena and Florence, however, are of the Sienese and Veronese type. A good example of each occurs in the library collection. No country shows greater variety, in its various schools, than Italy, and very speedily their works came to differ so distinctly as to be easily assignable to their different centres of production. Some show strong Romanesque influence, observable, in the Law Books, in the architectural accessories, which suggests the presence of that type rather than the Gothic. Mostly it is the earlier work which has this character, and it is usually assigned to the school, or at least to the influence of Giotto. A fine MS. in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge is very properly attributed to that influence. But as Giotto worked both in Naples and Florence, the general suggestion brings us very little nearer the true locality of its origin. The more sombre and earthy the character, the more likely it is to have arisen in Naples or Calabria. Some examples delight in peculiar gamuts of colour. These may point to certain localities having had prevalent schemes of colour, with fixed rules as to their combination. Thus bright minium, used with fine Italian ochre as well as gold, is often a powerful element in the colour arrangement of the Sienese workers. A dull brown ochre and deeper cinnabar belong to Central Italy, and a fondness for green and lake marks the illuminators of Padua and Verona, the green more especially prevailing towards Venice. A more resonant and German taste prevails in the Milanese until the Renaissance, when every school, even that of Palermo, turns over an entirely new leaf. These, of course, are only rough distinctions very general in character, for much depends on the individuality of masters; and allowance must be made for the fact that, during the fifteenth century at least, it was their custom to wander from city to city and from one convent to another to fulfil their commissions. During the latter part of the fourteenth century, perhaps, the Veronese and Bolognese artists were most prolific; during the fifteenth, those of Florence; towards its close, those of Milan; and still later, those of Venice and Rome; while from the revival of the art in Italy in the thirteenth century until the middle of the fourteenth the chief centres had been Bologna, Naples and Palermo. An example, not worth all the praise which has been bestowed upon it, of Sicilian, or more probably Avignon, illumination is the celebrated MS. executed by order of Louis of Anjou, King of Sicily

and Jerusalem, containing the statutes of the order of the *Knot*, or of the Holy Spirit, founded in 1352. The MS. is perhaps contemporary with the foundation. It is clever to a certain extent, showing practised facility of hand and some taste in design, but it is not to be compared with the Parisian work of the same date, executed for the same prince and his brothers.¹ Very similar to it in style are the Bible and Missal of Clement VII. of Avignon. They are, we must remember, contemporary with the Parisian MSS. of John, duke of Berry.

To enter upon the history of Italian illumination with proper accuracy would require much more space than can be afforded in this introduction. Even to characterise in detail its various styles is impossible. In diversity of border and initial ornament, from the Sicilian white vine-stem and Moresque enamel-background to the rich acanthus foliages of Florence and Rome, with the intermediate varieties of Verona, Padua, and Venice; and from the age of Oderigi and Giotto to that of the Dei Libri, Francesco da Castello, Attavante, Gherardo, and Clovio—not to mention the crowd of other masters, who illuminated choir-books, missals, diplomas, ducali, histories, poems, and armorials of the sixteenth century—Italy is simply unrivalled and inexhaustible. Almost every large public library is rich in Italian MSS, the British Museum especially so. Some of these are examples from the libraries of celebrated patrons, such as the Kings of Naples, the Dukes of Milan, Florence and Urbino, and many Popes, Cardinals, and Bishops; others are fine copies of precious works executed for private individuals. Every age, and almost every style worth study, is represented, while among the examples are some of altogether exceptional excellence and splendour. In the Soane Museum there are a few other examples, and in the Bodley and Fitzwilliam Libraries some of very great interest. There are, however, several examples in the National Art Library which call for special notice, owing to their apparently doubtful character as Italian work. They are a number of initial letters numbered 1504–8. Several good judges have thought them to be German, and they certainly possess some characteristics of German execution and taste. Their similarity to the contemporary style of Milanese illumination furthers this

¹ The MS. is in the Nat. Libr., Paris, MS. Fr. 4274. It has been splendidly reproduced in gold and colour (17 chromo-lithogr.) with an essay on miniature painting and a description of the manuscript by Count Horace de Viel-Castel (Paris, 1853).

opinion: but that they are really Italian can be shown from many evidences. In the first place a series of letters from the same MS. by the same hand is preserved in the British Museum in an Atlas of cuttings (Add MS. 22,310, ff. 11, 12), which may be compared with Add. MS. 18,197 and Harl. MS. 2,526, the last being unquestionably a MS. executed in Italy in 1456. Work of this identical type also might be pointed out which dates from Bologna, Modena, and even Milan, places easily accessible to the same itinerant craftsmen. Compare also 15,814, which was executed at Bologna, and has a very similar character of foliage treatment. It is indeed possible that the artist who painted these letters was by nation a German, for both the Estensi of Modena and the Visconti and Sforzas of Milan employed "Artisti Tedeschi" or "d'Alemagna" as they were called. Harl. MS. 4,922, a copy of the Epitome of Justin has foliages with similar technical treatment. It is dated 1475, and bears the motto "Mit Zeit" on one of its ornaments, proving it to have belonged to one of the Visconti of Milan. Add. MS. 22,318, a Latin Plutarch translated by Leonardo Aretino, is another example of a similar class of work. This MS. is useful to the student as having been left unfinished by the illuminator. Add. MS. 17,294 again, another probably Bolognese MS., bears the arms of the Dukes of Ferrara. Its influence is mainly that of Girolamo of Cremona, a Veronese artist, but an itinerant worker. The same stamp is observable in Add. MS. 15,260 and Harl. MS. 2,796. All the main features in these MSS. may be traced in Milanese work, as *e.g.*, in the beautiful Pontificale of the Fitzwilliam Library 7 E. 2, which contains the mixed kind of work so difficult to locate without specific information, but which is presumably assignable to Milan or its vicinity. Its date is shortly after 1433. Fitzwilliam MS., 5 E. 1 is similar to 7 E. 2, and proves its locality from its Calendar. The Gothic spirit in all these examples is another element which adds to their ultramontane character. A MS. in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, has the same style of foliages as these just enumerated, and it may be compared with the Estensi MSS. especially. A reproduction of one of its beautiful initials is given in the Museo Español de Antigüedades IV, 547.¹

Of the later Italian schools, with the exception of some Venetian initials and bracket borders of the sixteenth

¹ A page from a MS. (no. 1) in the Barberini Libr., Rome, reproduced on p. 121 of Curmer's *Evangelies*, shows precisely the same kind of foliages. It was executed for Nicola III., duke of Ferrara (1393-1441).

century, few examples occur in the present collection. The most influential of this later work is that executed for the Medici of Florence and Rome, but the architectonic taste of the later Milanese and Genoese, as seen in the various Sforziadas, in the fine Bible in the Library of the University of Glasgow, bearing the device and arms of one of the Fregosi of Genoa, in the numerous MSS. executed for the Aragonese Kings of Naples, and in one at Vienna, for the Duke of Atri, puts them also in the highest rank of the illuminator's art.

The works of the Gherardo or Attavantesca school of Florence;¹ of Antonio da Monza, of Milan;² of Francesco da Castello, at Lambach in Austria;³ of the Florentine and Roman schools by various masters;⁴ of the later Neapolitan and Genoese schools, of which examples exist in several Spanish libraries, are all worth attentive study as indicative of the immense variety to which allusion has been made, and as exhibiting the practice of the latest illuminators, many of whose finest performances are found on the pages of finely printed vellum books, or of MSS. executed long after the date of Gutenberg's Mainz Bible. The Bodley Pliny, the St. Florian Breviary, the Grenville and Paris Sforziadas are instances of this kind, all being printed books, and all, or nearly all, issued from the press of Nicolas Jenson of Venice. Materials for the study of Italian miniature are abundant, and more are constantly forthcoming.

Among the older writers on art, much interesting information may be found in G. Della Valle, *Lettere Sanesi sopra le Belle Arti*,⁵ respecting the Tuscan illuminators, as also in A. F. Rio, *The Poetry of Christian Art*, and in the notes of the Anonimo of Morelli.⁶ Father V. Marchese, in his *Lives of Dominican Artists*,⁷ deals especially with the illuminators of San Marco at Florence. More recently Caravati tells the story of the Monte Cassino MSS,

¹ Photographic reproductions in the National Art Library, and Add. MS. 21412 in the British Museum.

² Brit. Mus., Add. 21413.

³ See NEUWIRTH in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, ix, 401.

⁴ British Museum, Add. 21412, 33977, 14779, Harl. 2857, Burney 333, etc.; Bodley Library, Canonici 383, etc.

⁵ Venezia, 1782-86.

⁶ Notizia d'opere di disegno nel prima metà del secolo xvi. . . . scritta da un Anonimo. Pubblicata e illustrata da J. Morelli. Bassano, 1800. 2 ed., riveduta ed aumentata per cura di G. Frizzoni. Bologna, 1884.

⁷ Translated with notes, etc. by C. P. Meehan. Dublin, 1852.

and the sixth volume of Le Monnier's edition of Vasari¹ gives a minute account of the illuminated Choir-books executed for the cathedrals of Florence and Siena, with notices of the artists, including the greatest masters of the later Florentine school. The author of that account has promised a still more comprehensive history of Italian miniature. Numerous notices and particulars also, more especially respecting Ferrara, are afforded by the *Memorie originali Italiane risguardanti le Belle Arti*, edited by M. A. Gualandi.² The miniaturists of Venice are spoken of in the *Atti dell' Accademia di Belle Arti in Venezia* for 1857, especially with regard to the large class of works called Ducali, or Commissions from the Doge to the appointed magistrates of Venetian towns.³ Müntz has published notes on Roman miniaturists,⁴ and G. Campori on those of the Estensi of Modena and Ferrara.⁵

A vast amount of information respecting Italian MSS. may be found in Delisle's *Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, though it professes only to deal with the French National Library and its contents. Indeed the sources of knowledge on this branch of our study are practically inexhaustible, and the amount of examples extant in various libraries almost endless. I could not without immense difficulty put together the names of writers and the titles of articles in periodicals from whom and which I have myself gleaned scraps of information about MSS. But any determined student will pick up knowledge on his favourite theme, through being constantly on the alert. To enter more deeply into the matter of sources would be to begin a bibliography for which we have not space; but if the student is quite in earnest, he has enough to put him on the track, and his reading will lead him on from author to author, while frequent studies in this collection and others such as the British Museum and the Bodleian will be the best means of enriching his memory and gratifying his taste.⁶

¹ *Nuove indagini con documenti inediti per servire alla storia della Miniatura Italiana*, in G. VASARI, *Le vite de' piu eccellenti Pittori*. Firenze, 1846-70.

² Bologna, 1840-45.

³ See BIBLIOGRAPHICA, pt. 7.

⁴ *La Bibliothèque du Vatican au xvi^e siècle. Notes et documents*. Paris, 1886.

⁵ *Notizie dei Miniatori dei Principi Estensi*.

⁶ Some idea of the character of the later Italian Renaissance styles may be gathered from the plates to Labarte's *Histoire des Arts industriels*, and Curmer's *Evangelies des Dimanches et Fêtes*, though the latter are mainly adaptations to the object of the volume rather than exact facsimiles.

CHARACTERISTICS OF ITALIAN ILLUMINATION,
XIV. CENTURY.

FIGURE.—The new Tuscan manner of painting entirely refashions miniature art. The figure becomes natural, well proportioned, and graceful; the heads delicate in feature, and truthful in expression. The leading schools, after Bologna, are those of Verona and Florence. The costumes are carefully wrought, the drapery folds soft and yet often elaborately finished. By the end of the century miniature art is only an imitation of that of the painter.

LANDSCAPE, ETC.—At first very slight and merely suggestive, but afterwards carefully studied from nature, especially in the matter of skies, trees, and distances. Buildings acquire perspective accuracy.

ORNAMENT.—The slender straight rod supported by rings and bosses, and bearing graceful foliages often suddenly reversed, accompanied by many fringed patines of burnished gold and beautifully delicate pen-work diapers, is the first form of Italian border and initial ornament. The initials in gold and colours contain stories or figures; those in pen-work are only very elaborately enriched with pen-work fringes and tendrils. This is succeeded by the Sicilian white stem work, with fine pen-work fringe ornament and burnished gold patines and bars, and afterwards with the medallions, vases, candelabra and figures of the full Renaissance. The white stem ornament is prevalent throughout the whole peninsula, but more especially in the south, until the middle of the following century.

TECHNIC.—Strong saturated *gouache*, with high finish. Burnished and punctured gold used in grounds. Flesh tints laid on a pale green under-wash. Sicilian painting sombre and dark in tone; Umbrian heavy, but rich in colour; Tuscan bright and inclined to gaudiness.

CHARACTERISTICS OF ITALIAN ILLUMINATION,
XV.—XVI. CENTURIES.

FIGURES.—The miniatures of the Tuscan and Veronese schools of the early part of the fifteenth century are of the same character as easel painting. There is not a separate and distinct treatment, but an endeavour to produce, in a minute form and within the limits of

inches, the effects aimed at in larger work. The school of Siena more especially, abandons the pen-outline and shades with deep, pure colour; the modelling is treated in the same spirit as if the works were intended to be magnified; and while extreme neatness of finish is not neglected, still the work seems to be that of an artist who understood mural painting. In the sixteenth century, there is really no difference in manner between the miniature of a book and the wall-painting of a room but such as is owing to the difference of dimensions. The miniatures of the Florentine school are complete paintings, and the miniaturists are frequently men who do larger work of that kind or are mosaicists or goldsmiths besides. The school of Verona, at first mannered and limited in its aims, gradually merges into those of Florence, Venice, or Milan. When the Renaissance changes the ornamental accessories, it is the school of Florence that leads the rest.

LANDSCAPE, ETC.—As in the ordinary schools of painting.

ORNAMENT.—Though making use of Cinquecento architectural features, still, especially in Florence, somewhat under Gothic influence. It gradually becomes overloaded and debased.

TECHNIC.—Constantly tending more and more to mere water-colour painting, whether in tempera or transparent colour. This reaches its climax in the stippled manner of Clovio and his imitators.

LIST OF SICILIAN AND ITALIAN MSS., XIII.—XVI.
CENTURIES.

Name.	Location.	Date.	Remarks.
De Venatione avium, or De arte venandi cum avibus.	Vat. Libr., Palat. 1,071.	c. 1225.	Treatise by the Emperor Frederick II. (1212-1250), containing paintings of birds and hunting scenes. (See <i>SEROUX D'AGINCOURT, History of Art</i> , pl. 73.)
Ordo officior. Senensis.	Acad. Libr., Siena.	—	Attributed to Oderigi d'Agobbio.
Bible.	Abbey of La Cava, near Salerno.	1316-1331.	Written for Abbot Philip de Haya.
Speculum historiale.	" " "	" "	For the same patron.
Legends of St. George.	Archives of the Canons of St. Peter's, Rome.	c. 1327-43.	Illuminated by Giotto, beautiful storied initials.

Name.	Location.	Date.	Remarks.
Speculum Salvacionis.	Arsenal Libr., Paris.	—	School of Giotto.
Virgil.	Ambros. Libr., Milan.	c. 1310.	Painted by Simone Martini. (See MUNTZ, in <i>Gazette Archéologique</i> , XII, 99, 1 helio-engr. Paris, 1887, and for doubts of authenticity of Simone's signature, WOLTMANN and WOERMANN, <i>History of Painting</i> , I, 485.)
Rationale of Durandus.	" " Add. 31,032.	c. 1330.	Very fine illuminations.
Aristotelis Opera.	" " Harl. 6,331.	c. 1335.	Long straight rods, profile foliage and reversed curves. Compare this with Laon MS. 426, described in FLEURY, <i>Les Manuscrits de Laon</i> , II, 47. 1 lithogr.
Missal of Cardinal Stefaneschi.	Archives of the Canons of St. Peter's, Rome.	c. 1327-43.	In the same vol. with the Legends of St. George, and said to be, like them, illuminated by Giotto.
Portraits of Popes.	Brit. Mus., Harl., 1,340.	—	Fine foliages; allegorical figures.
Officium Mariæ Virginis of Bartholomeus de Bourtholis de Bononia.	Abbey of Kremsmünster.	1349.	Beautiful miniatures by Nicolaus de Bononia.
Poems of Convonevole da Prato.	Brit. Mus., Roy. 6 E. ix.	1309-43.	Fine text and initials, and bold <i>gouache</i> painting. Allegorical figures. Executed for King Robert of Naples.
Gratian's Decretales.	" " Add. 15,274.	c. 1350.	Exquisitely fine initials and text.
Dante, Divina Commedia.	" " Egert. 943.	c. 1350.	Rough and thick painting.
Boethius on Arithmetic and Music.	Nat. Mus., Naples.	c. 1350.	Allegorical figures.
Concordantie Canonice.	" " "	c. 1350.	Probably Bolognese.
Statuts de l'Ordre du St. Esprit.	Nat. Libr., Paris, Fr., 4,274.	c. 1354.	Neapolitan, executed for Louis I. of Anjou, King of Sicily and Jerusalem.
Roman du Roi Meliadus.	Brit. Mus., Add. 12,228.	c. 1355.	Executed for Louis II. of Naples, probably at Avignon.
New Testament.	Vat. Libr., no. 2,639.	1358.	By Nicolaus de Bononia.
Missale Romanum.	Brit. Mus., Add. 14,802.	c. 1370.	Fine illumination.
Petrarch, Trionfi, etc.	" " Harl. 3,109.	c. 1370.	Miniatures and initials.
Antiphonarium Nocturnum.	Laurent. Lib., Florence.	c. 1370.	Echoes of style of Giotto.

Name.	Location.	Date.	Remarks.
Petrarch, Trionfi, etc.	Nat. Libr., Paris.	—	Miniatures of Triumphs.
Joannes Andrea, Libri VI. Decretalium.	Abbey of St. Florian.	c. 1370.	Fine Bolognese miniatures.
Missale Romanum.	Roy. Libr., Munich, Lat. 10,972.	c. 1374.	(See KOBELL, <i>Kunstvolle Miniaturen</i> , p. 48. Photo-lithogr.) By Nicolaus de Bononia.
Missale Romanum Dominicanum.	St. Mark's Libr., Venice. Cl. III, xcvii.	c. 1370.	Fine figure painting of School of Giotto. By Nicolaus de Bononia.
Missale Romanum Pontificum.	Brit. Mus., Add. 21,273.	c. 1380-1400.	Fine pen work, diapers and initials.
Latin Bible.	" " Add. 18,720.	c. 1375-1380.	Cassinense or Bolognese, fine foliages and sweetly coloured initials.
Latin Hymnarium Heremitarum.	" " Add. 30,014.	c. 1400.	Beautiful pen work and flowers, miniatures and initials. Siennese.
Ordo Breviarii Romanæ Curiae.	" " Harl. 2,903.	c. 1400.	Siennese or Florentine with fine initials.
Pomponius Mela.	" " Add. 17,409.	c. 1416.	
Breviary.	" " Add. 17,466.	c. 1412.	Coarse and gaudy.
Plato, in Latin.	" " Harl. 3,431.	c. 1470.	Executed for Ferdinand I. of Naples (1453-94).
Missale Romanum.	" " Add. 17,294.	c. 1450.	Veronese or Venetian.
Catulli Veronensis poemata.	" " Add. 11,915.	1460.	Neat handwriting. Treviso.
Cæsar.	" " Harl. 2,633.	c. 1460.	Executed for Pius II. (1453-1464).
Cæsar.	" " Add. 16,982.	1462.	White vine stems.
Cæsar.	" " Add. 14,099.	1460.	Fine bandwork.
Venetian Diploma.	" " Add. 15,816.	c. 1462.	Style of Liberale of Verona.
Petrarch: Sonnets, etc.	" " Harl. 3,411.	c. 1465.	White vine stem, etc.
Cicero.	" " Harl. 2,692.	c. 1470.	Roman Renaissance.
Missale Romanum.	" " Add. 15,260.	c. 1475.	Bolognese School.
Officia.	" " Add. 19,417.	c. 1475.	Milanese School.
Boethius de consolatione.	" " Harl. 4,335.	c. 1475.	
Missale Romanum.	" " Harl. 2,875.	c. 1480.	Florentine School.
Eusebius, History.	" " Harl. 4,965.	c. 1482.	Neapolitan or Roman.
Josephus, History.	" " Harl. 3,090.	c. 1490.	Roman.
Herodian.	" " Add. 23,773.	1488.	Florentine Renaissance.
Scrap-book of cuttings.	" " Add. 21,412.	1480-1500.	Florentine and Roman Renaissance.
Grant of Ludovico Sforza.	" " Add. 21,413.	1494.	Milanese School, painted by Antonio da Monza.
Offices of Frederick of Aragon.	" " Add. 21,531.	1500.	Neapolitan Renaissance.

Name.	Location.	Date.	Remarks.
Life of Manetti.	Brit. Mus., Add. 9,770.	1506.	Florentine Renaissance.
Promissio of Antonio Grimani.	" " Add. 18,000.	c. 1521.	Executed for the Doge Antonio Grimani (1521-23). Venetian Renaissance.
Poem to Henry VIII.	" " Add. 30,067.	c. 1525.	Venetian Renaissance.
Eusebius.	" " Harl. 3,308.	c. 1515.	Florentine Renaissance.
Eusebius.	" " Roy.	c. 1525.	Milanese Renaissance.
Life of Manetti.	" " Lansd. 842.	c. 1525.	Florentine Renaissance.
Missale Cassinense.	" " Add. 15,813.	c. 1530.	Venetian Renaissance, executed probably by Bened. Bordone.
Life of St. Francis.	" " Harl. 3,229.	c. 1504.	Florentine Renaissance.
Prayer-Book of Margaret of Austria, wife of Philip III. of Spain.	Imp. Libr., Vienna, no. 1,849.	1560-1573.	Large 8vo. Executed, in Florence probably, for a Spanish nobleman. Very beautiful foliage borders and miniatures.
Aristotle, Ethics.	Imp. Libr., Vienna.	c. 1490-1510.	Fine Renaissance work, probably executed at Naples. Miniatures, very elaborate in design and painted in strong <i>gouache</i> , by Rinaldo Piramo for Andrea Matteo Aquaviva, Duke of Atri.
St. Jerome, Commentaries on Ezekiel.	" " " no. 654.	c. 1490-1520.	Executed by Attavante for King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary.
Philostratus, in Latin.	" " " no. 25.	" "	Translated by Ant. Bonfinio. Illuminated by a Florentine miniaturist of the highest rank, possibly Attavante, for Corvinus.
Orations of Cicero.	Imp. Libr., Vienna.	c. 1490.	Executed, probably, at Naples for Ferdinand I. (1458-1494). Very fine Renaissance ornament.
Poems of Eurialo d'Ascoli.	" " "	c. 1536.	Miniatures by Giulio Clovio (1498-1578).
Book of Offices (Stuart de Rothsay).	Brit. Mus., Add. 20,927.	c. 1546.	Miniatures and fine Renaissance borders and initials by Clovio.
Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans.	Soane Mus., London.	c. 1535.	Large miniature and borders by Clovio. Executed for Cardinal Grimani.
Prayer-Book of Alphonso I., King of Naples.	Brit. Mus., Add. 28,962.	c. 1450.	Finest Neapolitan work, contains 39 miniatures. Portraits of King Alphonso (1416-1458).
Psalter of Paul III..	Nat. Libr., Paris, Lat. 702.	1542.	French influence in borders. Probably by Clovio and his assistants.

Name.	Location.	Date.	Remarks.
Sforziada.	Nat. Libr., Paris, Ital. 372.	1490.	Milanese School.
Alexander de Ales.	Vat. Libr., fds. Urbin. 124.	c. 1480.	Florentine Medici School. Executed for Frederick, Duke of Urbino.
Orations of Cicero.	Laurent. Libr., Florence, pl. XLVIII. 8.	c. 1460.	Transition from white stem to Florentine Renaissance.
Roman Missal of Charles V.	Roy. Libr., Brussels.	c. 1498.	Florentine Renaissance. Painted by Attavante.
Martianus Capella.	St. Mark's Libr., Venice.	c. 1490.	Florentine Renaissance. Painted for Corvinus by Attavante.
Papal Lectionary (the Towneley Clovio).	Lenox Libr., New York.	c. 1546.	Roman, by Clovio and his assistants.
Letters of St. Jerome.	Roy. Libr., Berlin.	c. 1470-80.	Veronese Renaissance.
De Sanguine Christi.	Vat. Libr., Rome, cod. Urb. 251.	c. 1490.	Combination of Milanese and white stem style, with cameos, etc.
Anthologia Grecorum Epigrammatum.	Nat. Libr., Florence.	c. 1500.	Florentine Renaissance.
Dante.	Vat. Libr., no. 365.	c. 1555.	Fine Roman Renaissance.
Defensio Platonis.	Nat. Libr., Paris, Lat. 12,947.	c. 1490.	Neapolitan School. Coloured bands and white stems, with children, cameos, etc.
Investiture from Guido- baldo II., Duke of Urbino.	Brit. Mus., Add. 22,660.	c. 1560.	Late Roman Renaissance.
Trionfi di Petrarca.	Nat. Libr., Paris, Ital. 22,541.	c. 1503-13.	Six full-page miniatures, not perfect but very fine.
Poems on Julius II.	Vat. Libr., no. 1,687.	c. 1503-13.	By same artist as the preceding MS. (<i>See</i> <i>SEROUX D'AGINCOURT</i> , <i>History of Art</i> , pl. 80.)
Latin Bible of the Duke of Urbino.	" " cod. Urb.	1476.	Fine Florentine, early Renaissance.
Trionfi di Petrarca.	Mr. Holford's Libr., London.	—	
Missal of Cardinal Colonna.	Sciarra Palace, Rome, no. 1.	c. 1520.	Miniatures so fine as to be attributed to Raf- faello Santi.
Barberini Prayer-Book.	Barberini Libr., Rome, no. 324.	c. 1500.	Many miniatures. Flo- rentine school.
Missal of Pius II.	Chigi Libr., Rome.	c. 1460.	Executed for Pope Pius II.
Petrarch.	Corsini Libr., Rome, no. 1,081.	c. 1475.	
Missal of Cardinal Corsini.	Corsini Libr., Rome, no. 1,015.	c. 1530.	Many fine miniatures.
Missal of Cardinal Cornaro.	Minerva Libr., Rome.	c. 1520.	Admirable Roman Renaissance miniature.
Roman Missal.	Brera Libr., Milan.	c. 1480.	Attributed to a Venetian artist.

Name.	Location.	Date.	Remarks.
Graduals of Pavia.	Brera Libr., Milan.	c. 1530-80.	Milanese Renaissance. By Baretta and others.
Plutarchi Vitæ, in Latin.	Brit. Mus., Harl. 3,485.	1470.	Executed for Ferdinand I., king of Naples. Transition, and mixed Florentine influence.
Prayer Book of Bianca Maria of Milan.	Roy. Libr., Munich, no. 99A.	c. 1450.	Illuminated for Bianca Maria, duchess of Milan, by Giovanni da Como; contains the arms of the Visconti and Sforza families, and very interesting miniatures. (See KOBELL, <i>Kunstvolle Miniaturen</i> , pp. 86, 87.)
Hours of Bona of Savoy.	Brit. Mus., Add. 34,294.	—	Fine Milanese Renaissance, with much Flemish work. (See reproductions, with text by G. F. Warner, published by the Brit. Mus. in 1894.)
Prayer Book of Albert IV., duke of Bavaria.	Roy. Libr., Munich, Cimelien-Saal, no. 42.	1574.	Finest Roman Renaissance, with very tenderly painted miniatures and rich binding. Written, etc. by Hans Lenker, goldsmith of Munich. Erroneously attributed to Clovio. (See KOBELL, <i>Kunstvolle Miniaturen</i> , p. 88. 1 photo-lithogr.)
Amor, a poem by Cam. Pabotti of Bologna.	Brit. Mus., Add. 30,067.	c. 1513.	Dedicated to Henry VIII.
Apologia di Pandolfo Colenuccio.	Brit. Mus., Roy. 12 C. viii.	c. 1510.	Copied for Henry VIII.

XI

ENGLISH ILLUMINATION.

Our course of study brings us at length to that branch of French illumination, which, after being practised for some time as Norman or Anglo-French, became naturalized in our own country. Once more taking up and assimilating the native elements then existing, this foreign practice by the time of Edward I. had ripened into a perfectly representative national style. After the death of Henry I. the unhappy social and political condition of the country was unfavourable to the cultivation of art. But the marriage of Henry II. brought in an access of French taste, which made the practice of illumination once more called for and popular. Towards the end of the twelfth century and during the whole of the reign of Henry III., French was the prevailing fashion, and illumination as pure decoration was ascending to its zenith. The art of this period, as we have seen in our notice of the lifetime of St. Louis, was of the Gothic or naturalistic type as compared with the preceding Romanesque and Byzantine, but it was not yet emancipated from the influence, or rather the control, of the sister arts of enamelling and glass-painting. This control, while it kept the decoration of the book uniform with that of the reliquary and the window, retarded its progress towards pictorial effect. It has been the custom of writers on illumination to praise this defect as a virtue, but on grounds which will not bear rigid examination. There is no reason, except that of consistent imitation or simple preference, why the page of a book should be made to look like a beautiful Gothic window; or why the figures should be coloured in flat tints and surrounded by strong black outlines. In a stained glass window there were excellent reasons for these methods of treatment. So in enamelling there were substantial reasons for the employment of diapered or chequered backgrounds. The materials at the disposal of the artist limited his operations. But in the case of the painter on vellum, it was from no such necessity that his work resembled the other. It was because he could do no better, otherwise his skill and knowledge as a painter would have taught him that a method excellent, because necessary, for glass-work was inapplicable to the materials on which he himself

worked, and that far freer and richer handling was available with his softer and more tractable materials. By-and-bye this skill and this knowledge were obtained, and illumination was advanced accordingly. We can see absolutely no reason why a picture in a book should not be as perfectly pictorial as a picture on a wall. In fact, the engraved works of the later class of book illustrators practically endorse the opinion, that the finest work is that which is most perfect in pictorial effect, in those qualities which a picture should possess wherever it may be found. We may admire the illumination of a Gothic missal for qualities which it actually possesses, without asserting that it could not be better as a picture. Those who love a Gothic glass painting will admire a Gothic illumination, and may think it perfect. But its perfection is of a limited type, and cannot be accepted as the type of the supremest reach of the illuminator's art.

A good example of the condition of English work at the time here spoken of may be seen in the British Museum (Royal 2 A. xxii.), and appears to have been produced in the scriptorium of Westminster Abbey. The drawing is in thick firm black outline, as if to represent the leadwork of a window; the colouring thin and slight. In Burney 3, we have a Bible, dated 1245, which once belonged to St. Augustine's, Canterbury. Royal 1 B. xii. is another Bible, written for Salisbury use, and dated 1254. This may be compared with the French Missal (Add. 26,655), dated 1250, and the differences noted. No doubt much of the work executed in England during this time, and for a century afterwards, was in fact done by Frenchmen, and such as was actually the production of English hands differed but slightly from this. Certainly the difference was not one of style.

One of the first examples of a thirteenth century MS. executed in England is that known as the Tenison Psalter (Add. 24,686), which appears to have been at least begun by an artist working in the monastery of the Blackfriars, London, about 1294, as a royal gift on the intended marriage of Prince Alphonso, second son of Edward I., to the daughter of the Count of Holland, but left unfinished for a time in consequence of the prince's death. The figure drawing is free, and the faces delicately drawn with the pen; the colouring, which marks the chief difference from pure French miniature, is not pale, but bright and lively. Compare with this another Psalter (Arundel 83), illuminated about 1310 by an English artist. Here the

increase of the humourous or ludicrous element is very marked. The drolleries indeed, or more truly their grotesqueness, may be taken as the most striking characteristic of native work. It is perhaps most observable when the execution is below the average, but is a no less prominent feature in the work of the ablest draughtsmen. A favourite element of decoration in these late thirteenth and many fourteenth century MSS. is a puncturing or "pouncing" of the burnished gold, sometimes in lines, stars, or circlets, sometimes in elaborate patterns of diaper, such as we see in the grounds of coloured glass, and in German heraldic painting. The Arundel Psalter just mentioned is a fine example of this practice, and a Psalter (7. F. 1), in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, of a somewhat earlier date, is another. It is by no means confined to English work, but these English examples afford many good instances of it. The raising and pouncing of gold backgrounds is a common process with the Italian painters of the same period, as may be seen in the Early Italian Room at the National Gallery. The practice was followed also in the decoration of St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, executed for Edward III. Indeed, in the Westminster Records, under the date 1353, we meet with the mention of stamps for "marking the pictures with impression" of this very kind. The effect, especially in the MSS., is very brilliant. In MSS. executed before 1380 the influence, as has been frequently pointed out, is manifestly and strongly French. Every example hitherto cited is a proof of this. But before the end of the next decade a sudden and almost violent change took place, and the French style of border, with its thorny Gothic sprays, was replaced by a fuller, softer, roundly coiling and more fully coloured foliage. The design of the borders also, bearing some reminiscences of the Othonian period, became more richly coloured, and adopted more broadly drawn, surface-foliaged panels. The leaflets, no longer spare and thorny, or mere trefoils or cinque foils of ivy, but profuse and brilliantly coloured, showed unquestionably a fresh influence. I have already assigned this influence to the select band of French and Italian artists employed at Prague by the Emperor Charles IV., artists who produced the Vienna Golden Bull, and commenced the Bible, since known as the Wenzel Bible. It is a curious fact that all the daughters of this accomplished prince married Sovereigns noted for their protection of the arts, and we cannot doubt that the Queen of Richard II., Anne of Bohemia (or Luxemburg),

was the moving spirit of this change in England, a change which her immediate popularity soon rendered universal in every native scriptorium. A careful examination of the ornamentation of the Wenzel Bible, reveals numerous instances of almost complete identity of treatment with the new English style. The only difference is, that here in England the leafage is adapted to the form of framework hitherto in vogue. At the same time the frames are now fully enriched with foliage instead of being merely diapered or golden panels, and the colouring is of the bright and somewhat gaudy character observable in the Wenzel Bible and the Wilhelm von Oranse of the Bohemian school. A MS. in the British Museum (Add. 15,690) is distinctly Bohemian, though roughly executed by a very inferior hand. It is dated 1380, and signed by Jodocus von Weronar at Nuremberg. The name is foreign to that city, and the style differs from the ordinary Nuremberg work, which inclines rather to the school of Cologne. A daughter of Charles IV., we may be reminded, married the Burggrave of Nuremberg, and this Jodocus may possibly have been among her retinue.

The style claimed by some art writers as an almost isolated example of a national art in Bohemia was, until the advent of the House of Luxemburg, distinctly German and descended from the Saxon of Bamberg. With Charles of Luxemburg came French illuminators, and an equally distinct French style. To this, by his invitation of artists from Italy, Charles added a third strain, and thus was formed a style differing both from the French of Paris and the German of Cologne, but possessing as it were echoes of both.

As regards English illuminators, every student must have remarked the abrupt change of style from such MSS. as Royal 20 B. vii, or Harl. 1,319 to Royal 1 E. ix, the Benefaction Book of St. Alban's, or the MSS. relating to the Duchy of Lancaster in the Record Office. It has usually, and without close examination, been assumed to be a national and regular evolution from the ordinary English work of the preceding century. But a strict comparison of MSS. does not bear out this conclusion.

The young Luxemburg princess who came to England in 1382, and who is known in history as Good Queen Anne of Bohemia, inherited the luxurious and cultured tastes of her father. Fond of all the decorative arts, and especially of heraldry, she was the patroness to whom Johannes de Bado Aureo dedicated his *Tractatus de Armis*,

the first work on that subject (though composed in Latin) by any English author. Whether such illuminators as Šbince von Trottina and Petrus Brzuchaty, whose names do not occur in Dlabacz, ever existed, may be questionable. But work assigned to them is still preserved, and the Missal of Johann Oeko von Wlasim, Archbishop of Prague (1364–80), attributed to the second of them, is one of the treasures of that city. It stands, says Woltmann,¹ in the highest rank of the art of the fourteenth century. The English art of the early fourteenth century is of French origin; so is Bohemian. But the fresh influence traceable in the English of the early fifteenth is Bohemian, and in the Bohemian itself is Italian. The “*Viaticus*” and “*Mariale*” at Prague are clearly French, and the connexion between Prague and Paris, in the generation preceding Anne of Bohemia, was as close as that between Prague and London in 1382. The great Jean de Berry, whose world-famous “*Heures*” are considered the finest MSS. of the finest school—that of the Netherlanders employed in Paris—was the son of King John of France and his Queen Bonne of Luxemburg, Anne of Bohemia’s aunt. Both Courts then being in the active exercise of artistic influence on England, we can easily account for a revival of the arts in our own country, which revival, owing to the direct patronage of the young Queen, was in the line of Bohemia rather than of France.

In this new departure, the application of body colour is no longer flat and pale or thin, but full, rich, and bright. It is without the pen-line face drawing. The features are painted, not pen-drawn. These are Italian, not French characteristics. The nearest representatives of these observable changes in English work are the MSS. already mentioned, and now at Vienna, viz., the Golden Bull, the Wenzel Bible, and the Wilhelm von Oranse. For the English examples we may take Royal 1 E. ix, Lansdowne 451, and Harl. 7026. Allowing for the changes due to the transfer of the new influence to English hands and English scriptoria, with their own traditions, we have a style of work which the contemporary thorny French Gothic does not explain. The artists who executed the Germanized frame-borders, backgrounds, and costumes of MSS. like the splendid Wilhelm von Oranse, are much more answerable for those of Royal 1 E. ix, and 2 A. xviii. than are the illuminators of the Hours of the Duke of Berry, or of the

¹ Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft, II. Stuttgart, 1879.

Arundel and Tenison Psalters. Now, instead of the long pale faces of the French MSS., we have a round and ruddy type, and a distinct endeavour to get at individual expression, while the frequently-mentioned frame borders have an entirely different character. To the last quarter of the fourteenth century, and the influences we have endeavoured to enumerate, we owe the distinct English style which during the fifteenth century became practically universal. It was led especially by the schools of Westminster, St. Alban's, and Norwich, and might, from its period, be called *Lancastrian*. Edward IV., from his intimacy with the Court of Burgundy and the nobility of Flanders, brought in a taste for the growing style everywhere recognised as Flemish, and henceforth most of the Chronicles and other works executed for the House of York and the first Tudor are of this kind. Henry VIII. seems to have shared the French taste for the Italian Renaissance, but Elizabeth and the Stuarts reverted once more to the Netherlands, and more especially to Antwerp. Under Elizabeth, portrait miniature, now the only representative of the mediæval art, became popular, and from the time of Nicholas Hilliard we may consider historic or subject miniature as practically extinct in England.

Sir E. Maunde Thompson has written a short illustrated history of English illumination during the mediæval period.¹

CHARACTERISTICS OF ENGLISH ILLUMINATION, XIV.—XV. CENTURIES.

FIGURE.—From the time of Edward I. to that of Richard II. the character of English figure drawing is fashioned on that of the school of Paris. After 1382 a new manner is observable, the characteristics being more like those of the school of Prague. This becoming naturalised, forms the style which is prevalent in England during the reigns of Henry IV., V., and VI., and may be called *Lancastrian*. In the reign of Edward IV. Netherlandish art is introduced, which lasts until the earlier years of the sixteenth century. Afterwards we have an eclectic school partaking of the features of the Italian Renaissance as modified by the special locality from which it derived it. In the reign of Elizabeth subject-miniature gives way to portraiture, and is eventually abandoned in favour of printing and engraving.

¹ In "Bibliographica." London, 1895.

LANDSCAPE.—The backgrounds partake of the characteristics of the various influences referred to above, but English illuminators to the very last retain a preference for diapers and other ornamental grounds.

ORNAMENT.—The panel-frames of the early fifteenth century are remarkable for a freedom in their foliage designs and a tendency to brilliant colouring like those in the works of the German and Bohemian schools. The single initials are often adorned with elegant brackets of sweeping branches clustered with coils of firmly drawn leafage, and enriched with patines, often finely fringed, of burnished gold, or supported as in the earlier Gothic with bars and cusps of gold. Surface-foliage in bright colours, is often used to enrich the larger initials. The use of a pale, soft, rosy orange, in place of pure rose or paled lake, gives to the colouring a refinement which is often wanting in the German work of which it is an offshoot.

TECHNIC.—With a basis of *gouache* there is a tendency to the thinner working of the English mode of *aquarelle*. Sometimes it is very tender and transparent, but it never attempts the stippled or dotted manner of the later Italian schools. Wherever stipple appears it is an introduction from Italy or Spain, the latter country having adopted its methods with its artists from either Italy or the Netherlands. Gilding is employed in the same way as in the continental schools; the earlier work (French and Lancastrian) making use of pouncing or puncturing to give brilliancy, and to work thin patterns of lines or diapers on the bright gold. The later gold-work is applied like the colouring solely with the brush, and with little or no burnishing. The colours of initials and borders are gradated and paled, and then finished with fine embroideries of pure white.

LIST OF ENGLISH MSS., XIV.—XV. CENTURIES.

(For Anglo-French, see list at end of Chapter VIII.)

Name.	Location.	Date.	Remarks.
Queen Mary's Psalter.	Brit. Mus., Roy.2 B.viii.	14th cent. (early).	(See WESTLAKE and PURDUE, <i>The illustrations of Old Testament history in Queen Mary's Psalter</i> , 119 lithogr. London, 1865: and Sir E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, in <i>Bibliographica</i> , part 4, pl. 6, 7.)

Name.	Location.	Date.	Remarks.
Psalter.	Brit. Mus., Arund. 83.	14th cent. (1st half).	Strikingly grotesque drolleries. (See Sir E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, in <i>Bibliographica</i> , part 5, pl. 2.)
Apocalypse (French version).	" " Roy. 19 B. xv.	c. 1330.	(See Sir E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, in <i>Bibliographica</i> , part 5, pl. 1.)
Psalter of Princess Joan.	" " Roy. 2 B. viii.	c. 1390.	Good bracket initials. An example of the transition to the Lancastrian style.
Pontifical.	" " Lansd. 451.	c. 1400.	Also transitional. Fine bracket initials.
Latin Bible.	" " Roy. 1 E. ix.	c. 1400.	Enormous folio. Strong Bohemian influence. (See Sir E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, in <i>Bibliographica</i> , part 5, pl. 3, 4.)
Lovell Lectionary.	" " Harl. 7,026.	c. 1400.	Illuminated by John Sifrewas, in the new English manner, for John Lord Lovel of Tichmarsh (d. 1408). (See HUMPHREYS, <i>The Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages</i> , pl. 14.)
Roman Breviary.	" " Harl. 2,975.	c. 1400.	Large initials and drolleries.
Offices.	" " Add. 16,998.	c. 1400.	Small quarto. Small miniatures, borders, and initials.
Offices, Suffrages, etc.	" " Add. 16,968.	c. 1400.	Miniatures, etc. Mauleverer arms.
Liber Albus, bk. iv.	Guildhall Records, London.	c. 1410.	Initials and bracket borders.
Chaucer, Canterbury Tales.	Brit. Mus., Harl. 7,334.	c. 1410.	Good illumination; fairly regular text.
Offices.	" " Roy. 2 B. i.	c. 1410.	In new English manner.
Grandison Offices (Hours of the Virgin and Psalter in Latin).	" " Roy. 2 A. xviii.	c. 1410.	Lovely bracket initials. (See Sir E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, in <i>Bibliographica</i> , part 5, pl. 5.)
Occleve, De regimine Principum.	" " Arund. 38.	c. 1415.	An example of the transition from the French manner. Traceried backgrounds! as in Prague MSS. (See Palaeogr. Soc., III. 251.)
Ormonde Offices.	" " Roy. 2 B. xv.	c. 1420.	Similar initials, etc. to those in the Grandison Offices. (See HUMPHREYS, <i>The Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages</i> , pl. 19. He calls it Queen Mary's Breviary.)
Gower, Confessio Amantis.	" " Harl. 3,490.	c. 1420.	Bolder foliages.
Guard Book: Cuttings.	" " Add. 29,704.	15th cent.	Two vols. Various dates. Chiefly from a Latin Missal. Fine.

Name.	Location.	Date.	Remarks.
Missal.	Brit. Mus., Arund. 109.	c. 1425.	Executed before 1446. Presented by William Melreth, alderman of London, to the church of St. Lawrence in the Old Jewry. (See Sir E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, in <i>Bibliographica</i> , part 5, pl. 6.)
Golden Legend.	" " Harl. 4,475.	c. 1425.	Bold border designs.
Offices, Prayers, etc.	" " Harl. 1,251.	c. 1430.	Apparently executed for John Duke of Bedford.
Lydgate, St. Edmund.	" " Harl. 4,826.	c. 1430.	Rambling foliages.
Lydgate, St. Edmund.	" " Harl. 2,278	c. 1433.	Superior to the preceding, but much faded through exposure. (See HUMPHREYS, <i>The Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages</i> , pl. 17.)
Lydgate, Story of Thebes.	" " Add. 18,632.	c. 1440.	
Psalter.	" " Roy. 2 B. x.	c. 1440.	Borders of twining stems.
Occleve, De regimine Principum.	" " Cleopat. A. 18.	c. 1450.	Dedicated to Henry VI.
Psalter.	Fitzwilliam Mus., Cambridge, 7 F. 7.	c. 1450.	Rather pretty borders. (For the Fitzwilliam Mus. MSS. in this list, see W. G. SEARLE, <i>The Illuminated Manuscripts of the Fitzwilliam Museum</i> . Cambridge, 1876. ¹)
Collection of Statutes.	Fitzwilliam Mus., Cambridge, 7 F. 5.	c. 1450.	Perhaps somewhat earlier.
Sarum Missal.	Brit. Mus., Harl. 2,785.	c. 1450.	Perhaps somewhat earlier.
Granary of John of Whethamstede.	" " Nero C. 6.	c. 1455.	Pure Lancastrian of St. Albans.
Fitzwilliam Missal.	Fitzwilliam Mus., Cambridge, 7 F. 6.	c. 1460-1470.	Rather poor work. Contains an important calendar.
Pedigree Roll.	Brit. Mus., Harl. 7,353.	c. 1460.	Illuminations.
Offices, etc.	" " Harl. 1,719.	c. 1460.	Large initials. Good text.
Catalogue of Benefactors.	" " Nero D. 7.	c. 1465.	Portraits, etc., by Alan Strayler, illuminator of St. Albans.
North Offices.	" " Harl. 3,000.	c. 1475.	Good border frames.
Lectionary.	" " Roy. 2 B. xii, xiii.	c. 1480-1490.	Profusely illuminated.
Vegetius, on Knighthood.	" " Roy. 18 A. xii.	c. 1485.	
Various historical treatises.	" " Claud. E. 8.	c. 1485.	
Hours.	Fitzwilliam Mus., Cambridge, 7 F. 10.	c. 1490.	Inclining to Dutch in style.
Prayers, etc.	Brit. Mus., Add. 15,216.	c. 1490.	Curious miniatures by various hands.

¹ The new and full catalogue by Mr. M. R. James should also be consulted.

XII

NETHERLANDISH ILLUMINATION.

In the history of illumination of the earlier periods it is scarcely possible to separate the art of the Low Countries from that of France on the one hand, and of Germany on the other. It is not indeed altogether an easy matter to fix exact limits to the territory lying between these two countries, and loosely termed the Netherlands or Low Countries. The productions of its artists are generally but incorrectly spoken of as Flemish. This, of course, strictly speaking, would exclude the works of those of the Low German, Walloon, and French portions, whilst the term *Netherlandish* includes them all. The modern division into Dutch and Belgian is less useful than it appears, as the work of the illuminators was done before such a division was known. On the whole it will be clearer to speak of the work by its precise locality, such as Maastricht, Liège, Stavelot, Utrecht, Antwerp, Louvain, Brussels, Ghent, Bruges, Tournay, Valenciennes, and so forth, or at least by the name of the principalities, etc., Liège, Holland, Brabant, Flanders, Hainault, and the rest, as they existed before 1550.

In speaking of Upper and Lower Rhenish, we are obliged somewhat to extend the exact political boundaries, as fixed by the old Germanic Circles. The former will include the whole Rhine valley from Mainz to Basel, while it takes its character from its most northern limit. The Lower Rhenish takes its character from Cologne; but includes much that in modern phrase would be called Dutch. By Dutch or Hollandish, however, is more properly meant such work as was produced in other towns or monasteries, as, for example Zwolle and Deventer, mostly lying away from the Rhine, and northward of Cologne. For works produced eastward of this city and of the Rhine above Worms or Speyer, including Augsburg ones, the name is more properly Suabian. So, by various gradations, the Rhenish features modulate into those of the neighbouring districts. When the illumination and miniature work of the Northern Rhineland begins to grow distinctly *Netherlandish*, and to show the influence of certain guilds, there is already developed a direct and resolute imitation of external nature, and an earnest endeavour on the part of the artist to represent the landscape

familiar to him in his daily walks. A similar desire to reproduce the natural landscape rather than to imitate mosaic or enamelling in their backgrounds, seized upon the Italians of the same period. By landscape I mean sky and distance, with mountains, rivers, or sea-coast, not merely a group of persons with a conventional tree or two behind; or a carpet-like pattern of grass and flowers symmetrically disposed to make up a foreground. It is in this change to true landscape that the real transformation from mediæval illumination to modern easel painting consists, and in this change France was no longer to the front. By-and-bye she joined the new ranks, but at the end of the fourteenth century she was still wedded to her diaper-work, while the Italians and the Netherlanders were bringing in the faithful representation of the air and fields. It may be a question whether Flanders or Italy made the first move in this direction, but the probability lies with the former. After 1250, Dr. Kugler thinks every new departure in painting due to the Netherlands, and even when the work was done in Paris or Venice it is known that Netherlandish artists were the persons actually employed to do it. Nevertheless it was not until the arrival of Anne of Bohemia in England that landscape scenery, forming the whole background of a miniature, began to make its way into the popular taste. The Low Country miniaturists may be distinguished from the French by their preference of plain burnished gold to diapering. When this was discontinued the deep blue sky paling towards the horizon was the first step. An example of this transition may be seen in Harl. 2,897, which dates between 1389 and 1400. This MS. is known as the Prayer-Book of Margaret of Bavaria, wife of John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy, and it was executed by Flemish artists. Dr. Waagen has pointed out another Flemish MS. in the British Museum (Add. 16,997), also a Book of Prayers, the date of which falls within the first two decades of the fifteenth century, and which shows a still further advance in landscape art. Still another MS. in the same library (Harl. 4,431), belonging to the third decade of the fifteenth century, contains some of the earliest known attempts at complete and purely natural landscape. The clouds, it is true, are still somewhat heraldic (*nebuly*); but it is clear that in most things the artist has gone direct to nature. From this time landscape rapidly approaches excellence if not perfection.

The British Museum affords multitudes of examples. Take, for instance, the Book of Hours, Add. 24,098, the

calendar scenes of which present us with really exquisite pictures.¹ After the commencement of the fifteenth century, both Italy and France adopt the landscape background on the Flemish model, producing most beautiful scenes. Even the fine aërial perspective and tender beauty of sky and cloud are rendered with the utmost delicacy and truth. In a Northern French MS. in the British Museum, the "*Trésor des Histoires*" (Aug. V.), there is on folio 38 an attempt at complete pictorial effect in the sky, and in the lighting up of the rocks with the rays of the setting sun. In this the artist proves at least his habit of observation of the beauties of Nature. On fol. 151 we have a fine distance with views and hills; on fol. 222, varieties of green in the trees and a bridge scene of great beauty; and on fol. 345v. a garden and château, clear sparkling water, and a charming distance. The student could scarcely find a book worthy of more careful study even among the masterpieces of the famous painters of the *Grimani Breviary*.

The earlier efforts of the Netherlandish miniaturists, whilst always worthy of notice for conscientious and patient finish and labour, are sometimes impaired by defective drawing or a misdirected sense of the beautiful in face and limb, and a tendency to exaggeration in expression and attitude. Nevertheless, there is always a certain charm arising out of the sweetness of colouring and the careful rendering of minute details of costume and accessories. In the Imperial Library at Vienna is a fragment of the *Chronicles of Jerusalem* manifestly executed by a practised and skilful illuminator, the miniatures of which are precisely of this kind. Woltmann and Woermann give a cut of one containing the portrait of Baldwin I. in complete armour, with lance and shield, standing before a beautiful Gothic canopy. Everything is most perfectly finished, down to the statuettes which adorn the architecture, and the patterns in damask and mosaic of the walls and pavements. The story of the development of Netherlandish miniature art is of the greatest interest from the very high position held by the Netherlanders in this department. Towards this pre-eminence, the rapid progress made by the Van Eycks, Hugo van der Goes, Roger van der Weyden, Dirk Bouts, and Hans Memline naturally gave a corresponding impetus to the professional illuminators, who, together with the

¹ These scenes may be compared with similar subjects at the end of Add. 18,355.

painters, contributed to render the court of Philip the Good and his son Charles the Bold the most brilliant of the many literary and artistic centres of the fifteenth century. All the masters I have named worked more or less in the manner of the miniaturists; and, indeed, more than one has been, upon insufficient evidence, claimed as belonging by practice to the illuminators even if not a member of their guild. One great master painter at least did really belong to the miniature-guild of his adopted city; but he belongs to the end of the century. This was Gerard David, of Oudewater in Holland. In 1484 he appears in the painters' guild of Bruges, and his work has been identified by Mr. Weale in various MSS. still preserved. We really know of no miniatures from the hands of the Van Eycks, notwithstanding Dr. Waagen's supposed identifications in the Bedford Service Books; nor from those of Roger van der Weyden, or Hans Memline. The supposed works of the last-named artist in the Grimani Breviary and elsewhere are quite wrongly attributed to him; they really belong to Gerard David, Gerard Horenbout, or other miniaturists. Among the masterpieces of Netherlandish miniature of the fifteenth century we might point to quite a crowd of examples, far too numerous to specify, since almost every great library in Europe has something to show which is considered to belong to the highest class. At Brussels there are the "*Chroniques de Hainaut*" (N^o 9,242), the framed Hours, the Music Books of Philip the Good, and many others. At Vienna is the famous "*Histoire de Gérard de Roussillon*," in French (Imp. Lib., N^o 2,549); at Paris, the "*Champion des Dames*" (Nat. Libr., N^o 12,476). In the British Museum there are many examples; foremost among them being the "*Isabella*" Breviary (Add. 18,851), the "*Trésor des Histoires*" already mentioned (Cott. Aug. V.), and the *Roman de la Rose* (Harl. 4,425). At Munich may be seen "*La Mutacion de Fortune*" (or at least the last volume of it, the other being at Paris) and a Prayer-Book of Philip the Good. The miniatures in the latter, which is only a small volume, are wondrously fine and delicate.

In the Bavarian National Museum at Munich are two other Prayer-Books (N^{os} 861, 862) with exquisite miniatures. One of the borders of N^o 861 consists of the ends or eyes of peacock feathers, marvellously wrought, and is almost exactly similar to the border of N^o 4,461 in the library collection. The miniatures of the Grimani Breviary at Venice, and of the Offices of the Elector Albert

of Brandenburg, master-pieces of Gerard David and his associates, may be taken as typical examples of their period. Similar to these are the Munich Prayer-Books, and several leaves now mounted in a guard book in the British Museum (Add. 24,098). For other examples of Flemish work in our great national library the student should consult Birch and Jenner: *Early Drawings and Illuminations*. . . . With a dictionary of subjects in the British Museum. London, 1879.

As to the names of celebrated illuminators, none was more famous in his day than Simon Marmion of Valenciennes, recorded in a contemporary poem as Prince of Illuminators. Among others named are Jean de Prestinien, Jean Trachet, Jean de Bruges, Paul Fruit, Loyset Lyedet, and Guillaume Wyeland. Of the later men, one of the most distinguished is Simon Benyng, the painter of the Portuguese Genealogies now in the British Museum (Add. 12,531).

There is, however, one variety, highly developed in Netherlandish art, which is by no means confined to that style. That is what is called *grisaille*, or, as the Italians call it, *chiaroscuro*, in which the work is almost completed in tones of grey. The final touches are given with pure white and the grounds laid in rich blue; sometimes the flesh tones are given in natural colour, and the ornaments and draperies in gold. The idea seems to be a return to the imitation of enamels, especially those of the later schools of Limoges. The Royal Library at Brussels possesses several very fine examples. In the British Museum there is a very exquisite series of *grisailles* in what is called the *Mandeville MS.* (Add. 24,189). In these the basis is a pale cool green, the faces are touched with carnations, gold is used in the draperies, etc., and the grounds are diapered in fine blue. The school is that of the Van Eycks.

The common Italian fashion of wall decoration, both external and internal, gives a good idea of the relief attempted in the miniatures. This went almost to the extent of giving them the look of sculptures. The final development of the style, which began chiefly with Romances and Chronicles, is in the printed Books of Hours, in which *grisaille* painting is often very finely executed. But the subject of printed book decoration is ample enough for a separate chapter, and with it we shall conclude this Introduction.

CHARACTERISTICS OF NETHERLANDISH ILLUMINATION.

FIGURE.—The defect of Netherlandish figure-drawing is in the disproportion of the heads, which are almost always somewhat too large. The hands and feet also are often too large for the rest of the limbs and person. The faces are highly finished and possess great individuality of expression. The modelling is completed with the utmost delicacy, the flesh tones are carefully varied. The draperies are very sweetly coloured and the folds arranged with scrupulous care and knowledge.

LANDSCAPE, ETC.—The modern idea of landscape was probably the invention of the Netherlanders. At any rate they brought it soonest to perfection. Every part is carefully generalised to suit its relative place, yet details are given with the utmost minuteness and elaboration. The best parts usually are the distances, and the skies, in which the effects of aerial perspective are made to complete the beauty of the very accurate linear perspective of the buildings. Every effect of light, natural and artificial, is attempted with singular success.

ORNAMENT, ETC.—Frame borders, chiefly in imitation of pure or Renaissance Gothic stone and wood carving, with canopies, crockets, etc., laboriously finished; or else natural flowers grouped or scattered over gold and dead-coloured grounds. These borders sometimes branch out in well-arranged designs of heavy acanthus and other foliages. In Brugeois work the leafages are light and elegant; in Gantois, heavy, yet handsomely modelled, and often most exquisite in their folds and curves. Sometimes they are executed in brown, finished with gold in various tones of bronze; sometimes in grey, as though of ivory; sometimes in cool green or slate.

TECHNIC.—The painting is in body colour, with strong but not heavy impasto, yet with the greatest delicacy of finish. The modelling is carried to the extreme of realism, and the gamut of colour is bright, clear, and sweet. The aerial tones are exceedingly delicate and masterly. Altogether the *maniera* of the Netherlandish miniaturists is the extreme limit of pictorial skill, and though rivalled by that of Italy and the French Renaissance has never been surpassed.

LIST OF NOTABLE NETHERLANDISH MSS.

(For Bedford MSS. and others illuminated at Paris, partly perhaps by Netherlanders, see list at end of Chapter VIII.)

Names.	Locations.	Date.	Remarks.
Rhymed Bible, by Van Maerlant.	Mermanno - Westreenen Mus., The Hague.	1332.	Miniatures by Michael van der Borch.
Missal.	Mermanno - Westreenen Mus., The Hague.	1366.	Pen-drawing superseded by brushwork gouache. Illuminated by Laurentius of Antwerp, living at Ghent.
Croniques de Jherusalem abrégées.	Imp. Libr., Vienna, no. 2,533.	15th cent. (1st half).	This work reveals a master's hand; even aerial perspective is well expressed. The work is a mine of wealth for costume. (See WOLTMANN and WOERMANN, <i>History of Painting</i> , II, 46, 47. 1 cut.)
L'Histoire de M. Gérard de Roussillon.	Imp. Libr., Vienna, no. 2,549.	1447.	Executed for Philip the Good.
Les Chroniques de Hainaut.	Roy. Libr., Brussels, nos. 9,242-44.	c. 1450.	(See C. RUELENS, <i>La miniature initiale des chroniques de Hainaut</i> , in <i>Gazette Archéologique</i> , VIII, 317. 1 helio - engr. Paris, 1883; and notes by A. PINCHART in <i>Bulletin des Commissions royales</i> , IV, 486.)
Conquests de Charlemagne.	Roy. Libr., Brussels, no. 9,066.	1458.	By David Aubert, in three volumes. Fine dedication picture.
Life of St. Catherine.	Nat. Libr., Paris, no. 6,449.	1457.	By Jean Mielot (of Burgundy, for the Duke), lavishly illustrated. (See SILVESTRE, <i>Paléographie universelle</i> , pl. 192.)
Composition de la Sainte Ecriture.	Roy. Libr., Brussels, no. 9,017.	1462.	By David Aubert.
Froissart.	Breslau.	1468-69.	By David Aubert (in four volumes). The pictures in this work are not fully coloured till the 3rd volume.
Legend of St. Hubert.	Libr., The Hague.	1463.	By D. Aubert.
History of S. Helena (mother of St. Martin of Tours).	Roy. Libr., Brussels, no. 9,967.	1448.	By Jean Wauquelin. (See F. FROCHEUR, <i>La belle Hélène</i> , in <i>Messager des Sciences</i> , etc., 1846 p. 169. 2 engr. Gand, 1846.)
Cérémonie des Batailles.	Nat. Libr., Paris, no. 2,692.		

Names.	Locations.	Date.	Remarks.
Le strif de Fortune et Vertu.	Roy. Libr., Brussels, no. 9,510.	c. 1475.	From library of Charles de Croy; beautiful picture of wheel of fortune with Fortune as lady of fashion, and Virtue as a nun.
Vita Christi.	Roy. Libr., Brussels, no. 9,331.	c. 1475.	By Jacquemart de Pila vaine of Mons.
La Toison d'Or.	Roy. Libr., Brussels, no. 9,027.	1467.	By William, Bishop of Tournay, for Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. In two vols.
La Fleur des Histoires.	Roy. Libr., Brussels, no. 9,233.	c. 1475.	Large picture at beginning of Constantine receiving homage.
Livre de l'âme contemplative.	Roy. Libr., Brussels, no. 9,305.		Translated from Gerson. Allegorical pictures.
La manière de bien mourir.	Roy. Libr., Brussels, no. 9,305.		Second miniature has picture of man to whose breast Death holds an arrow.
Isabella Breviary.	Brit. Mus., Add. 18,851.	c. 1497.	Presented by Frances de Roias to Isabella of Castile.
Offices.	Brit. Mus., Add. 18,852.	c. 1490.	Contains portraits of Philip the Fair and Juana his wife. Finest Flemish work.
Grimani Breviary.	Libr. of St. Mark's, Venice.	c. 1490.	Contains a most wonderful collection of miniature scenes, portraits and borders. A masterpiece of Netherlandish art. (See note 1 on p. 173.)
Roman de la Rose.	Brit. Mus., Harl. 4,425.	c. 1485-1500.	Remarkable for costume and expression in the figures. Four large and 88 small miniatures, finely executed.
Portuguese Genealogies.	Brit. Mus., Add. 12,531.	1530-34.	Painted by Simon of Bruges for the Infant Don Fernando. Consists of 11 leaves, richly illuminated.

XIII

MSS. ILLUMINATED SINCE THE INVENTION OF PRINTING AND
PRINTED BOOKS ENRICHED WITH ILLUMINATION.

To imagine that the discovery and practice of typography immediately or speedily put an end to the profession of the copyist and illuminator, would be a great misapprehension. So far from this being the case, the vast number of MSS. subsequent to 1450, the date of the Mainz Bible, proves most conclusively that except for the commoner sort of books, as school manuals and the like, printed books were still the exception among the many literary productions of the following decades, and many of the best printed volumes were kept in harmony with their equivalent class of MSS. by being similarly enriched with miniatures, initials, or illuminated borders. In some cases, where ornament was less desirable, the enrichment was confined to the now conspicuous title page.

These sumptuous volumes, frequently printed upon the finest vellum, are not only very numerous, but are actually among the most richly decorated volumes in existence. Their contemporary MSS., most expensively and magnificently illuminated, are preserved among the costliest treasures of miniature art.

A glance at the history of painting and decoration during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries will direct us to the great centres of production. These will be found to be chiefly in Italy. Bologna, Naples, Genoa, Venice, Milan, Florence, and Rome possessed busy schools of miniature artists, employed either by the wealthier master printers or by fastidious princes, who as yet were reluctant to condescend to the more popular or less costly form of books. Of these the most actively employed in both respects was Florence. Hither converged the patronage of the whole literary world, and hither, therefore, betook themselves the best workers from every other atelier in Italy. Nevertheless, other cities too had French or German incomers, who also carried on a flourishing business:

The great school of miniature painting founded by the encouragement of the Medici, the Kings of Naples and Hungary, and the Dukes of Milan and Urbino, seconded as it was, by the varied and masterly accomplishments of

the scholars of Domenico Ghirlandaio, including the two brothers Gherardo and Monti de Giovanni, Frate Eustachio, the two Boccardini, father and son, Girolamo da Cremona, and Attavante, had given the new taste for classic ornament introduced by the study of the antique, so powerful an impulse as almost to extinguish every other style, and render obsolete the finest works of the preceding periods. When this band of artists commenced their labours the prevailing fashion in Italy was the semi-Moorish or Arabesque vine stem ornament, a survival of the Othonian and Suabian of the times of the Saxon and Hohenstaufen Emperors, combined with Sicilian and Moorish ideas; and still inclined to the influence of enamelling and diaper. These features are found in almost all MSS. executed in the South, and the fashion is so marked as to have obtained the designation of a style. Sometimes we find white, or slightly tinted, bands or stems on grounds picked out with full rich colours and gold, sometimes coloured bands on grounds of gold or black, or even of other colours, or on the plain vellum. But they always have the same prevalent idea of twining stems with peculiarly curling flowerets and buds, while the pictorial portions or miniatures are executed in a strong and heavy, but exceedingly elaborate, *gouache* or tempera, a direct descendant from the methods of the Byzantine school.

It is true that there were isolated examples in Italy of splendidly heterodox illumination, as in the works of the deservedly admired school of Bologna, where the principles of the Renaissance early took root, and in some Neapolitan ones of an apparently Milanese character. We have fine examples of these in the masterly *Ethics* of Aristotle in the Imperial Library at Vienna, executed by Rinaldo Piramo for the Duke of Atri, and in the fine *Orations* of Cicero in the same Library.

The influence of classic studies in the school of Squarcione of Padua on the one hand, and in the Medici Gardens at Florence on the other, had given birth to many new departures from the old vine-stem patterns which still prevailed towards the middle of the fifteenth century. Mantegna, at Mantua and Milan, changed entirely the fashion of the illuminations executed for the Sforzas and Gonzagas in those cities and their vicinity, while the influence of Verrochio and his successors in Florence, with their strong Christian sympathies, helped to modulate the classic character of the prominent school of Gherardo and Attavante in the Tuscan capital. The passion for classical

antiquity led wealthy book collectors to look out for those artists who could adorn their MSS. or incunabula with motives and ornaments borrowed from ancient sculpture. Thus, Leonardo Aretino in a letter to his friend Niccolo Niccoli, requests the latter to procure for him a copy of the Orations of Cicero, not gilded and painted in purple and gold, in the manner so common throughout Italy, but with initials in the ancient classic manner, "more vetusto," such as he had seen produced in Florence.

In the North of Europe the prevailing taste until the sixteenth century was still Gothic. French, German, and Netherlandish Gothic characterized the illumination of the codices and printed books of Paris, Cologne, Strasburg, Nuremberg, and other cities, and even that of those of Portugal and Spain until in the latter countries it was supplanted by the new styles introduced from Genoa and Rome. After the time of Louis XII, France rapidly succumbed to the tastes, soon universally prevalent, imported from Italy, and there grew up a new French and by degrees a new Flemish and a new German also. Gothic and classic, however, long continued to flourish side by side, and each manner has bequeathed us splendid examples of late book decoration. Of the former we may point to such instances as the Grimani Breviary,¹ now in the Library of St. Mark at Venice, the "Flora" offices at Naples, and the Grand Hours of Anne of Brittany,² at Paris. Somewhat intermediate we find the peculiar style of the school of Jean Fouquet of Tours, the monuments of which are the Antiquities of Josephus at Paris, the Brentano miniatures³ at Frankfort, and the Munich Boccaccio. Examples of classic Cinquecento occur in the colossal graduals once belonging to the Certosa of Pavia, and now preserved in the Brera Library at Milan, in the Antiphonaries of the Duomo of Florence, and in many of the gorgeous volumes executed for Matthias Corvinus of Hungary, for Alphonso I. of Naples, for the Sforzas of Milan, and for the Medici of Florence

¹ *Fac-simile delle miniature contenute nel Breviario Grimani* eseguito in fotografia da A. Perini, con illustrazioni di F. Zanotto. (*Avec un texte français de L. de Mas-Latrie.*) 2 vols. Venezia, 1862.

² *Le Livre d'Heures de la Reine Anne de Bretagne, traduit de Latin et accompagné de notices inédites par M. l'abbé Delaunay.* Chromo-lithogr. 2 vols. Paris, L. Curmer, 1841.

³ *Jehan Fouquet. Heures de Maistre Étienne Chevalier. . . . Texte rétabli par M. l'abbé Delaunay.* Chromo-lithogr. 2 vols. Paris, L. Curmer, 1866-67. See also C. RULAND, in the *Fine Arts Quarterly Review*, N.S., I., 27,311. London, 1866. A late 15th cent. French MS. in the British Museum (Roman de la Rose, Egert. 2,022) contains fine grisailles.

and Rome. It does not always strike us when we see these magnificent volumes, that at the time when they were being written and painted, the printing press was in active operation, and that books in the modern form, printed and published much in the same way as they are at present, were in process of ordinary production.

They rather carry us back to the times when the press was unknown. Who would imagine for example, that the great Missal executed by Georg Hoefnagel at Schloss Ambras for the munificent Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol, was actually copied as regards the text from the printed edition of 1570, published by Christopher Plantin, of Antwerp? This beautiful MS., now kept in the Imperial Library at Vienna, was executed more than a hundred years after the establishment of the Mainz and Strasburg presses. In many instances of these later MSS. there is a deliberate, and even ostentatious ignoring of typography. The Duke of Urbino was positively offended when his agent suggested the employment of a press which had been introduced into his neighbourhood. Matthias Corvinus, the most superb of patrons, was for a long time hostile to the admission of printed books into his collection. Both these fastidious Sovereigns looked upon the invention as plebeian, and only suitable for that class of purchasers. Not until they had been convinced by the beauty and costliness of certain desiderated volumes, would they condescend to place them upon their shelves. It was largely owing to the prevalence of this attitude among wealthy patrons that so many large and expensive MSS. were executed after the press had put good copies of the same works in circulation, and that printed books were executed on the more expensive material of vellum and richly illuminated by hand. Naturally a time came when the largeness of the demand for works at a manageable price rendered it more profitable for the publisher to issue popular editions, than to offer a limited number of copies at a dangerous cost, to the chance or whim of princely customers, who it may be would order, but would occasionally forget to pay. That special copies and *éditions de luxe* never have been entirely discontinued from the fifteenth century to the present time is of course a fact, and it is a fact for which we are thankful. Presentation copies printed on vellum, richly illuminated and sumptuously bound, attest the continuance of the mediæval practice of particular patronage, and provide us with treasures of art which still form a link between ourselves and the glorious amateurs of the

pre-Renaissance. Amid such a wealth of examples it is difficult to attempt a description, even of a selection. Some of the earliest printed books have also a place among the most splendid examples of illumination. The Mainz Bible is of course the earliest of all, and the Mazarin copy has noted on its pages that it was illuminated by the Vicar of St. Stephen's Church. It does not show, however, any remarkable degree of skill or beauty. Its style is, as already mentioned, that of the school of Cologne. But a work published at Milan by Zaroto in 1490, containing Simonetta's history of the deeds and enterprises of the Duke Francesco Sforza, was produced both in manuscript and print as a grand *livre de luxe*, richly illuminated and bound. Of this work, called the "Sforziada," several copies exist, one is in the Grenville Library in the British Museum. The MS. no. 9,941 of the Nat. Lib. Paris is a splendid example of the Milanese Renaissance by Antonio da Monza a scholar of Mantegna and da Vinci. The printed copy is similar and even richer. An example of Antonio's work exists in the British Museum, in Add. MS. 21,413, a diploma of Ludovico il Moro granting certain lands to his young wife. My notes of the Paris printed Sforziada describe it as a rich example of Mantegnesca design, with exquisite borders of vases, cornucopiae, jewels, birds, foliages, and flowers of the most elaborate finish. The introduction of jewellery into the borders of MSS. was probably due to the luxurious tastes of Charles the Bold of Burgundy; it was at least greatly encouraged by him and his contemporaries. In fifteenth century Netherlandish works and in French Renaissance ones it was common. In the sixteenth century it was universal. The books of Matthias Corvinus and those of Henry II. of France contain striking examples, as do those of the Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol and the Emperor Rudolph II. We find them in the Grimani Breviary, in the Hours of Anne of Brittany and in the Italian MSS. of Florentine and Milanese production, and indeed in the decoration of all books then illuminated. Sometimes we see pictorial reproductions of the actual jewels worn by the ladies and gentlemen of the families for whom the MSS. or other books were executed, introduced among the details of the border ornaments. The Brussels Missal of Charles V., executed by Attavante; the Gran Breviary at Paris, apparently the work of Boccardino the elder: and the wedding gift produced for Alexander, duke of Florence and his bride Margaret of Austria, now in the Corsini Library, Rome, contain conspicuous examples.

A superb copy of the Natural History of Pliny in the Bodley Library, Oxford (a Douce MS.), has miniature medallions of Ferdinand II. of Sicily and of one of the Strozzi family of Florence. The book is from the press of Nicolas Jenson of Venice; it is printed on vellum, and richly illuminated.

For Venetian diplomas of various kinds, called *Promissioni*, *Ducali*,¹ *Capitolari*, or *Mariegole*, many even first-class painters were sometimes employed, such as Titian, Tintoretto, Bellini, and Paul Veronese, but of course in time the work degenerated. Boduino is named as a miniaturist of the highest class, as were Benedetto, Bordone and Fra Benedetto in the earlier time of this class of work. Nor must it be forgotten that the whole of the work of the once famous Giulio Clovio,² called the prince of illuminators, lies within the sixteenth century, and that a score of his contemporaries were enriching the antiphonaries and graduals of Italian and Spanish cathedrals with their grandest works.

In the National Library, Paris, is a richly illuminated copy of Plutarch's *Lives*, printed at Venice by N. Jenson in 1478. It is on vellum and in folio. The margins are magnificently painted. On folio 1 is a fine landscape, and in front of this a grand square porch of purple, with a Renaissance ornament in beautiful firm chiaroscuro. Laid over it, as it were, and partly hiding it, is a series of exquisitely painted jewels in a style of work somewhat similar to that in the British Museum Eusebius (Harl. 4,965), with large rich pearls and other gems in fine settings. Several trophies of arms and armour form part of the decoration. The high lights are finely touched with white, and the shading is deepened with black. In front of the whole is a lovely monochrome violet frieze, on which are four fawns, cleverly grouped, a lion and lioness, and two satyrs, one carrying a basket of fruit on his head, the other seated on the cornice of the frieze. The top border is most charming. In its centre is a flat shield in green, with a gold frame riveted with four pearls, and bearing an inscription. On each side of it, linked with gold and gems and a cord of gold, is a medallion framed in a golden

¹ See J. W. BRADLEY, *Venetian Ducali*, in *Bibliographica*, II, 257. With 4 phototypes.

² See J. W. BRADLEY, *The life and works of G. G. Clovio, miniaturist, with notices . . . of the art of book decoration in the sixteenth century*. 18 plates. London, 1891; and for a specimen of his work, *Il Paradiso Dantesco nei quadri miniati e nei bozzetti di G. Clovio*. *Pubblicati sugli originali della Biblioteca Vaticana da G. Cozza-Luzi*. 39 phototype plates, and 1 photo-zincotype. Roma, 1894.

wreath, on which the figures are white, tenderly shaded with grey on a black ground. On the broad margin of the page is suspended a string of trophies, medallions, etc., casting shadows, as though they were laid on the page. The task of describing these sumptuous volumes, however, would be one of more toil to the writer than profit to the student, for the series continues far into the seventeenth century and even later.

Readers of the foregoing pages will see that Illumination, as a mode of book ornament, was by no means extinguished by the invention of printing; and there seems no reason, beyond the cost, why an art so appropriate should not still be employed, instead of mechanical reproduction, to embellish really precious volumes.

LIST OF RECENT IMPORTANT WORKS ON ILLUMINATION ACQUIRED BY THE NATIONAL ART LIBRARY.

GENERAL WORKS

- TIKKANEN, J. J. Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter. *Process illus.* (11 × 9) Helsingfors, 1895-
- QUAILE, Edward. Illuminated manuscripts: their origin, history and characteristics. *chromo- and 25 photo-lithogr.* (9 × 7) Liverpool, 1897.
- LONDON: *British Museum*. WARNER (G. F.). Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Museum. Miniatures, borders and initials. *Col. facsimile plates.* (15 × 11) London, 1899-
- CHANTILLY: *Musée Condé*. HENRY EUGENE PHILIP LOUIS D'ORLÉANS, *Duke of Aumale*. Chantilly. Le cabinet des livres. Manuscrits. 29 *photo-engr.* 2 vols. (11 × 9) Paris, 1900.
- OECHELHAEUSER, Adolf von. Die Miniaturen der Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Heidelberg. *Photo- and chromo- lithogr.* (13 × 9) Heidelberg, 1887.

SECTION II

- SCHULTZE, Victor. Die Quedlinburger Itala-Miniaturen der Königlichen Bibliothek in Berlin. Fragmente der ältesten christlichen Buchmalerei. 7 *photo-engr.* and 8 *photo-zincotypes.* (12 × 9) München, 1898.

SECTION III

- APOLLONIUS, *Citiensis*. Apollonius von Kitium: illustrierter Kommentar zu der Hippokrateischen Schrift *περὶ ἁθρῶν*. Herausgegeben von H. Schöne. 31 *photo-lithogr.* (12 × 9) Leipzig, 1896.
- HASELOFF, Arthur. Codex Purpureus Rossanensis. Die Miniaturen der griechischen Evangelien-Handschrift in Rossano. 15 *phototypes* and 14 *photo-zincotypes.* (14 × 11) Berlin; Leipzig, 1898.

SECTION IV

- BRUUN, Johan Adolf. An enquiry into the Art of the Illuminated Manuscripts of the Middle Ages. I. Celtic Illuminated Manuscripts. 10 *phototypes.* (10 × 7) Edinburgh, 1897.

SECTION VI

- ROBERT, of Jumièges, *Archbishop of Canterbury*. Illuminations in the missal of Robert of Jumièges . . . now in the Public Library of Rouen (Y. 6). 1 p. 15 *phototypes.* (10 × 6) London, 1895.
- FORBES-LEITH, William, S. J. The Gospel Book of Saint Margaret . . . preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. 8 *chromo-photo-lithogr.* and 60 *collotypes.* (10 × 7) Edinburgh, 1896.

SECTION VII

- SWARZENSKI, Georg. Die Regensburger Buchmalerei des x. und xi. Jahrhunderts. 35 *phototype plates*. (14 × 10) Leipzig, 1901.
- BRAUN, Edmund Wilhelm. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Trierer Buchmalerei im früheren Mittelalter. Excerpt. 6 *phototypes*. (10 × 6) Trier, 1896.
- BEISSEL, Stephan, S. J. Des hl. Bernward Evangelienbuch im Dome zu Hildesheim. Mit Handschriften des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts in kunsthistorischer und liturgischer Hinsicht verglichen von S. B. 3 ed. 26 *photo-lithogr.* (12 × 9) Hildesheim, 1894.
- BEISSEL, Stephan, S. J. Das Evangelienbuch Heinrich III. aus dem Dome zu Goslar in der Bibliothek zu Upsala [contains a list of MSS. of this School (11th cent.)]. 1 *phototype* and 10 *photo-zincotypes*. (In ZEITSCHRIFT für christliche Kunst, XIII, 65.) Düsseldorf, 1900.
- MONTÉ CASSINO: *Abbey*. Miniature sacrée et profane dell' anno 1023, illustranti l'Enciclopedia Medioevale di Rabano Mauro, riprodotte . . . da un codice di Montecassino. 133 *chromo-lithogr.* (13 × 10) Montecassino, 1896.

SECTION VIII

- LONDON: *Henry Bradshaw Society*. The Coronation Book of Charles v. of France (Cottonian MS. Tiberius B. viii.) edited by E. S. Dewick. 22 *collotype* and 4 *chromo-phototype plates*. (13 × 10) London, 1899.
- MUGNIER, François. Les manuscrits à miniatures de la Maison de Savoie: Le Bréviaire de Marie de Savoie, duchesse de Milan, les Heures des ducs Louis et Amédée ix. 17 *phototypes*. 8°. Montiers-Tarentaise, 1894.
- GRUYER, François Anatole. Chantilly. Les quarante Fouquet. 40 *helio-engr.* (12 × 9) Paris, 1897.
- BOUCHOT, Henri. Jean Fouquet. 20 pp. 2 *helio-engr.* and 3 *photo-zincotypes*. (In GAZETTE des Beaux-Arts, 3 S., iv, 273, 416.) Paris, 1890.
- LEPRIEUR, Paul. Jean Fouquet. 2 (1 *helio-*) *engr.*, 1 *cut* and 22 *photo-zincotypes*. (In REVUE de l'Art ancien et moderne, I, II.) Paris, 1899.
- LYONS: *Société de Bibliophiles Lyonnais*. L'entrée de François premier, roy de France, en la cité de Lyon, le 12 juillet 1515. Publiée pour le premier fois d'après le manuscrit de la bibliothèque ducale de Wolfenbüttel par G. Guigue. 14 *helio-engr.* 8°. Lyon, 1899.
- VARNHAGEN, Hermann. Über die Miniaturen in vier Französischen Handschriften des fünfzehnten und sechzehnten Jahrhunderts auf den Bibliotheken in Erlangen, Maihingen und Berlin (zwei Horarien; Fleur des Vertus; Petrarca). 24 *phototypes* and 1 *photo-zincotype*. (11 × 8) Erlangen, 1894.

SECTION IX

- GOLDSCHMIDT, Adolph. Der Albanipsalter in Hildesheim und seine Beziehung zur symbolischen Kirchensculptur des XII. Jahrhunderts. 8 *phototypes* and 44 *photo-zincotypes*. (10 × 7) Berlin, 1895.

HASELOFF, Arthur. Eine Thuringisch-Sächsische Malerschule des 13. Jahrhundert. 17 *phototype plates*. (10 × 7) Strassburg, 1897.

BREDT, Ernest Wilhelm. Der Handschriftenschmuck Augsburgs im xv. Jahrhundert. 15 *photo-zincotype plates*. (10 × 7) Strassburg, 1900.

KAUTZSCH, Rudolf Friedrich. Einleitende Erörterungen zu einer Geschichte der Deutschen Handschriftenillustration im spätern Mittelalter. (9 × 6) Strassburg, 1894.

VON DER GABELENTZ, Hans. Zur Geschichte der oberdeutschen Miniaturmalerei im xvi. Jahrhundert. 12 *phototypes*. (10 × 7) Strassburg, 1899.

SECTION X

MONTE CASSINO: *Abbey*. Le miniature nei rotoli dell' *Exultet*. Documenti per la storia della miniatura in Italia. *Chromo-lithogr.* (20 × 13) Montecassino, 1899-

TURIN: *R. Deputazione di Storia patria per le antiche provincie e per la Lombardia*. Atlante paleografico-artistico, compilato sui manoscritti esposti in Torino alla Mostra d'Arte Sacra nel MDCCCXCVIII e pubblicato . . . per cura di F. Carta, C. Cipolla e C. Frati. 120 *phototype plates*. (18 × 13) Torino, 1899.

BELTRAMI, Luca. L'arte negli arredi sacri della Lombardia. [A selection of objects from the Esposizione Eucaristica, Milan, 1895.] 80 *phototypes and 5 photo-zincotypes*. (14 × 11) Milano, 1897.

GIACOSA, Piero. Magistri salernitani nondum editi. Catalogo ragionato della Esposizione di Storia della Medicina aperta in Torino nel 1898. 28 *process illus.* (9 × 6) Torino, 1901.

Atlas. 40 *phototypes*. (17 × 12)

LONDON: *British Museum*. Miniatures and borders from the Book of Hours of Bona Sforza, Duchess of Milan. . . . With introduction by G. F. Warner. 65 *tinted collotypes*. (11 × 8) London, 1894.

BELTRAMI, Luca. Il Libro d'Ore Borromeo alla Biblioteca Ambrosiana, miniato da Cristoforo Preda, secolo xv. 40 *heliotypes*. (10 × 7) Milano, 1896.

VENTURI, Adolfo. Museo civico di Torino. Alcune miniature. 2 *photo-engr.* (*In ITALY: National Galleries*. Le Gallerie Nazionali Italiane. Notizie e documenti, III, 160.) Roma, 1897.

GRUYER, Gustave. L'art ferrarais à l'époque des Princes d'Este. 2 vols. (10 × 6) Paris, 1897.

HERMANN, Hermann Julius. Zur Geschichte der Miniaturmalerei am Hofe der Este in Ferrara. Stilkritische Studien. *Photo-engr. and photo-zincotypes*. (*In BERLIN: Kunsthistorische Sammlungen des Kaiserhauses*. Jahrbuch, XXI, 117.) Berlin, 1900.

VENTURI, Adolfo. La miniatura ferrarese nel secolo xv e il *Decretum Gratiani*. 7 *photo-engr. and 4 chromo-lithogr.* (*In ITALY: National Galleries*. Le Gallerie Nazionali Italiane. Notizie, IV, 187.) Roma, 1899.

SECTION XI

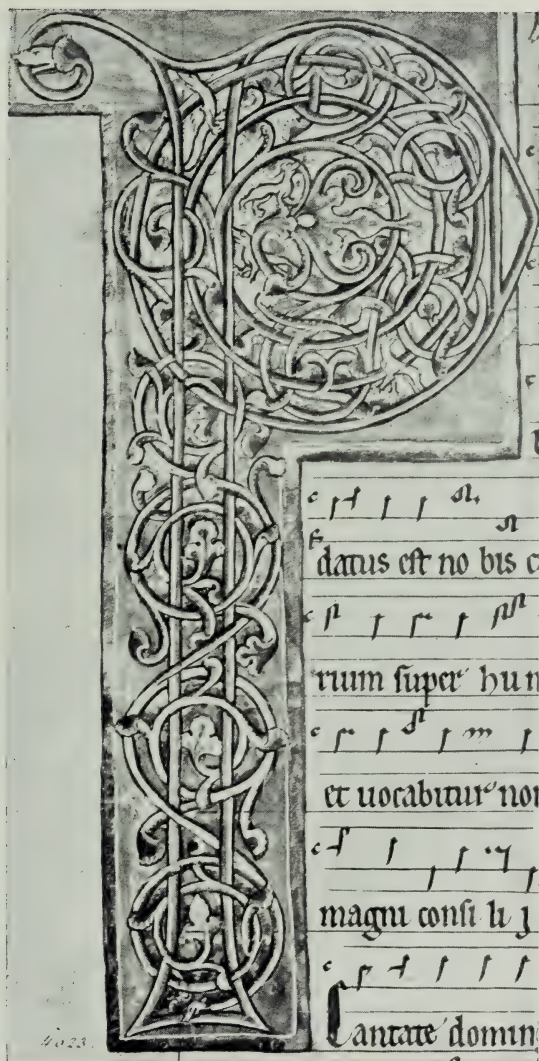
- THOMPSON, Sir Edward Maunde. English illuminated manuscripts. (12 × 8) London, 1895.
- THOMPSON, Henry Yates. Facsimiles . . . of six pages from a psalter, written and illuminated about 1325 A.D. for a member of the St. Omer family in Norfolk, subsequently (c. 1422 A.D.) the property of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester . . . and now in the library of H. Y. T. 18 pp. 8 *photo-engr.* and 1 *process illus.* (17 × 13) London, 1900.

SECTION XII

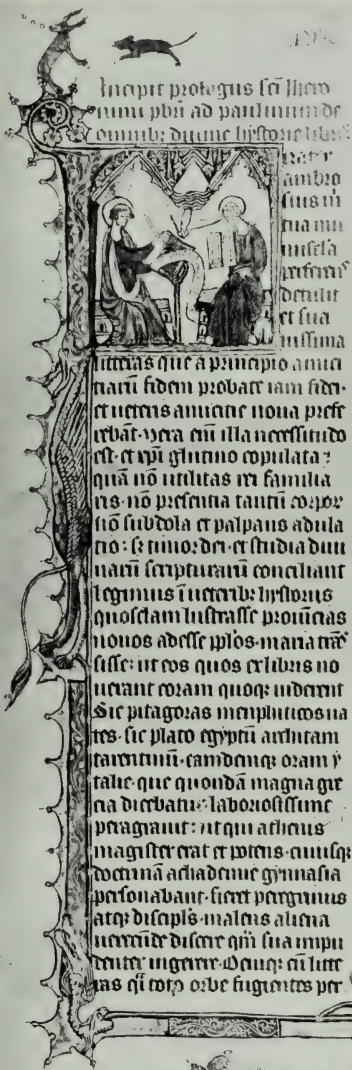
- DESTRÉE, Joseph. Les heures de Notre-Dame, dites de Hennessy. Études sur un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique. 58 *phototypes*. 4°. Bruxelles, 1895.
- VOGELSANG, Willem. Holländische Miniaturen des späteren Mittelalters. 9 *phototypes* and 25 *photo-zincotypes*. (10 × 7) Strassburg, 1899.

MISCELLANEOUS

- ALPHONSO X., *King of Castile and Leon*, called *The Wise*. Lapidario del Rey D. Alfonso x. Codice original. [Reproduced by Don A. Sella and Don H. Rodríguez y Sagasta; with preface by Don J. Fernandez Montaña, and report of the R. Academia de la Historia of Madrid.] 263 *chromo-photo-lithogr.*, and 4 pp. of *facsimiles of documents*. (13 × 9) Madrid, 1881.
- MUELLER, David Heinrich. Die Haggadah von Sarajevo. Eine Spanisch - Jüdische Bilderhandschrift des Mittelalters. Von D. H. M., und J. v. Schlosser, nebst einem Anhang von D. Kaufmann. *Phototypes* and *photo-zincotypes*. 2 vols. (11 × 8) Wien, 1898.
- MEUX, Valerie Susan, *Lady*. Lady Meux Manuscripts. I. The lives of Mabâ' Sëyôn and Gabra Krëstôs. The Ethiopic texts edited with . . . a chapter on the illustrations of Ethiopic MSS. by E. A. Wallis Budge. 92 *chromo-lithogr.*, 1 *phototype*, and 32 *photo-zincotypes*. (12 × 10) London, 1898.
- MEUX, Valerie Susan, *Lady*. Lady Meux Manuscripts. II-V. The miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the life of Hannâ (Saint Anne), and the magical papyrus of 'Aheta Mikâêl. The Ethiopic texts with English translations, etc., by E. A. Wallis Budge. 105 *chromo-lithogr.* (15 × 12) London, 1900.

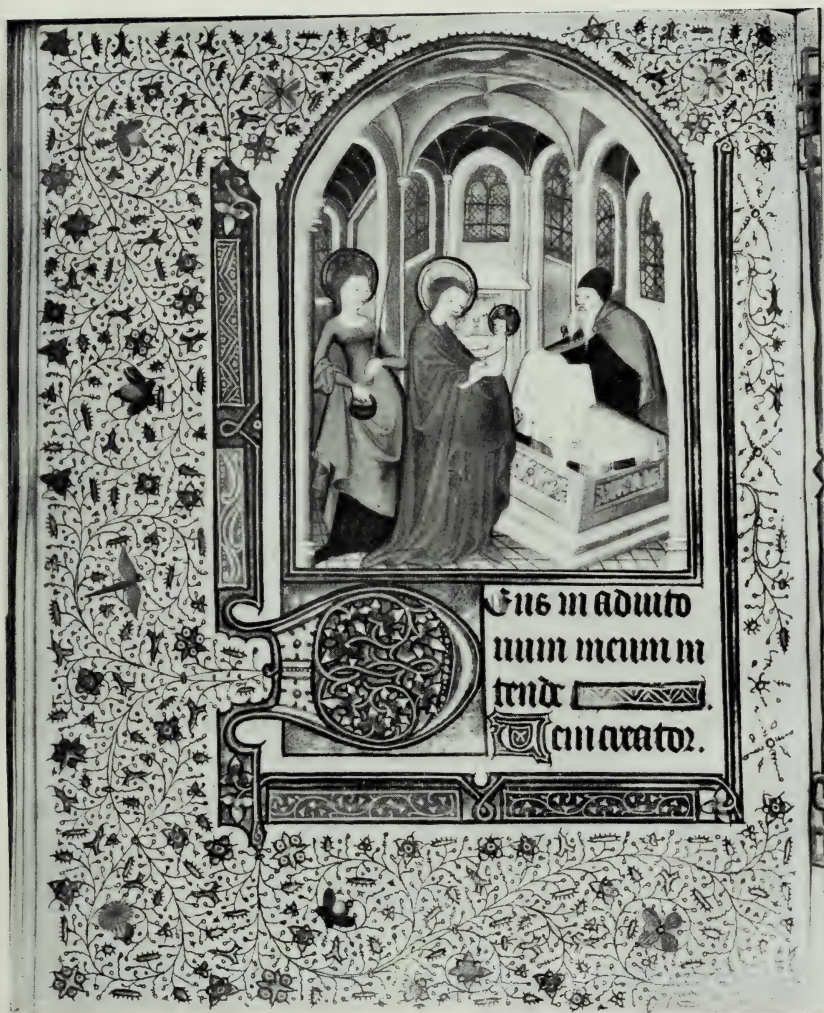


Gothic initial P, from a notated gradual. *French, 12th cent.*



Inapit protegus sc̄i Hiero-
nimi p̄bi ad paulinum de
omnib; diuine historie libris
habet
ambro-
sius in
sua mu-
nifera
refertur
deuotio
et sua
missima
litteras que a principio annu-
nanti fidem probant iam fide-
et ueteris amantem noua prefe-
rebant: uicta cum illa uersitudine
est: et xpi gloriose copulata:
qua non utilitas rei familia-
ris non presens tantum corporis
sed subdola et palpius adula-
tio: si minor dicitur et studiū diu-
nanti scripturarum conciliant
legimus i ueterib; historiis
quosdam illustrasse prouicias
nouos adesse populos: maria tunc
fuisse: ut res quos celibus no
uerant coram quoque uiderent
sic pitagoras inexpluiticos na-
tes: sic plato egypti architam
taurum: camdenque oram y-
talie que quondam magna gre-
na dicebatur: laboriosissime
peragauit: ut qui athenis
magister erat et potens: cuiusq;
doctrina adhiatuer gymasia
personabant: fieri peregrinus
atq; discipulis malis alima
uerat: discere quia sua impu-
tata: ingratum: dūq; cum litte-
ras q̄i toro orbe fugientes per-

sequitur: capnis appatis et unū
datus: cū trauno aridissimo
paruit: ductis capniuis uincti
et seruis: tamen quia philoso-
phus maior cunctis se fuit: ad
nūm luuui lacto eloquente
fonte manantem: de ultimis hyl-
panie galliariq; finib; quosdā
uenisse nobiles legimus: et q̄s
ad contemplatōem sui roma nō
narrat: unius hois fama per-
dixit: habuit illas etas tandem
omnib; seculis celebrandūq; mi-
raculū: ut uir tantā ingressi-
aliud cetera uirū quicquid apollo
nūc: fuit ille magus: ut nūq;
loquitur: fuit philosophi: ut pyra-
gora nabi: intrauit portas p̄nā
fuit caucasi: albanos syras:
massageras opulensima i die
regna pertrauit: et ad octidmū
lactissimo phryson amne nāstus
se peruenit: ad buconanas: ut hy-
aram i throno sedente: auro a de-
tātali fonte potante: inter paucos
discipulos: de natura de morib; arte
cūctū dicit: ac sibi: audire doctrinā
hinc peruenit: babylonios: calde-
os: medos: assyrios: parthos: syros
phryges: arabes: palestinos: trinit
alexandriam: peruenit ethiopiā
ut gyno sophyas: et famosissi-
ma solis mensam uideret fabulo
Inuenit iur ille ubiq; qd̄ disceret
et semper proficiens: scrip̄ se meli-
or fieri: Sēp̄ sit sup̄ hoc plenissime
octo uoluminib; phylotatius:
Ad loquar de seculi hoib;: cū apls
paulus uas electōnis et magis
gymnū qui de cōsuetudine tūc in se



Page of a book of hours, probably written at Tours. With a miniature of the Presentation in the Temple. *French, 15th cent.*



Page (Beatus vir) of a book of psalms and canticles. *German, 12th cent.*

ser nati
 tus est
 super hi
 uotabitur no men e ius n
 lus. **C**antate domino car
 mirabilia fecit. **G**loria sec
Viderunt om nes fine
 de i nostri iubilate de o
 term. **D**onum f
 minus saluta re
 tum gentium re uela uit iusti

Initial P, from a choir-book, containing a representation of the Nativity.
 German (Rhenish), c. 1280.

a nimia meam de
 us me us me cōfi
 do non erū bestiam neque irideant mi
 nimici mei et cū uniuersi qui te expectant
 non confunduntur **G**loria tuas domine
 notas fac michi et semitas tuas edoce me
Gloria seculorū amen **A**men



Frontispiece from a choir-book of the Abbey of SS. Ulrich and Afra at Augsburg. (For description, see p. 131.) *German, 1494-95.*

filios isrl. vesp̄e scie
tis q̄ dñs eduxerit
nos ex t̄ra egypti: 7
mane uidebitis glo
riam dñi. Ep̄la. ro

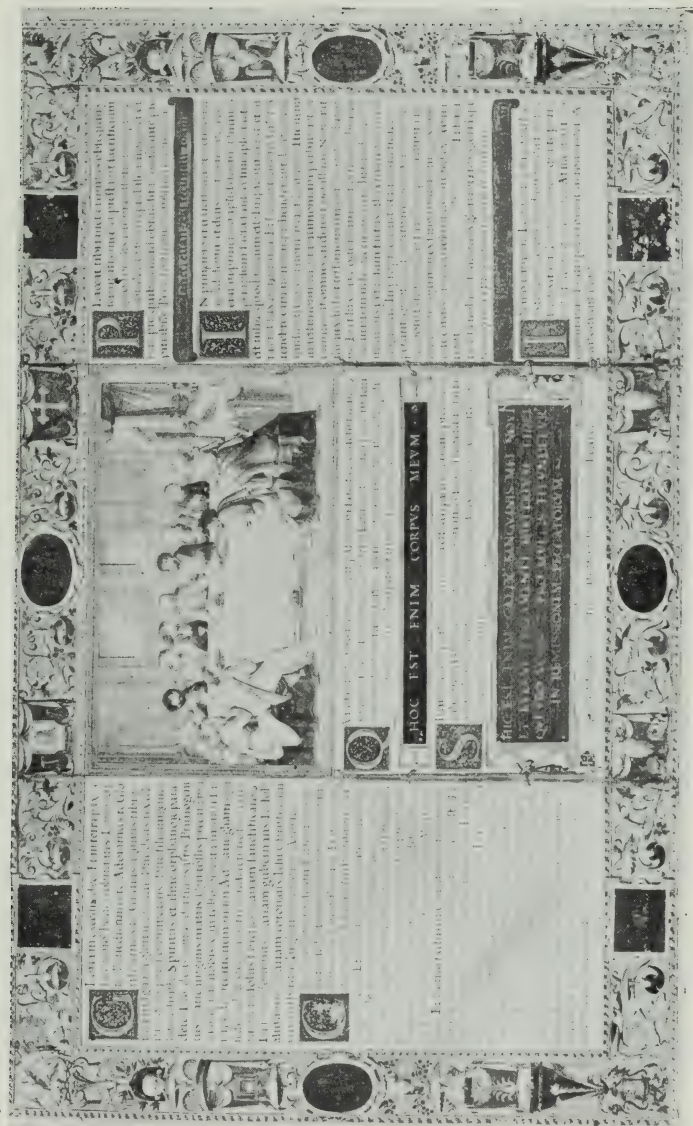
Ihes: philipp̄.
Ihes cum sen
tite in uob: qđ et in
xp̄o ihu. Qui cum
in forma dei eet. nō
rapinā arbitus est
ēē sē equalem dō: s̄
semetipm̄ exinan
uit fōrm̄ sui accip
iens in similitudinem
hominū fēs. et hūi
latus ut hō. i
humiliavit semet
ipm̄. fēs obediēs usq̄
ad mortem: mortē
autē crucis. Propt̄

qđ et dō exaltant il
lum. et cōmunt illi ro
men qđ est sup̄ om̄e
nom̄: ut in noīe ihu
om̄e genu flectatur:
celestium tierstium
et inferiorum. Et oīe
lingua cōfiteat: qđ
dñs ille xp̄s: in gl̄a
et dei p̄is. **H**ic. ii.
lectio v̄sare. p̄p̄te
n̄ dieb̄ illi. **D**e
it v̄sare. Dñs
dō apuit in au
tem: ego autē nō
adico. retrorsū non
abū. Corpus meū
ex di p̄tinentib: et
genas meas uellen
tib: faciem meam
non auit: ab inuicp̄



Page from a choir-book, probably written at Florence. With Gothic versal S, containing a representation of Pentecost. *Italian, 15th cent.*

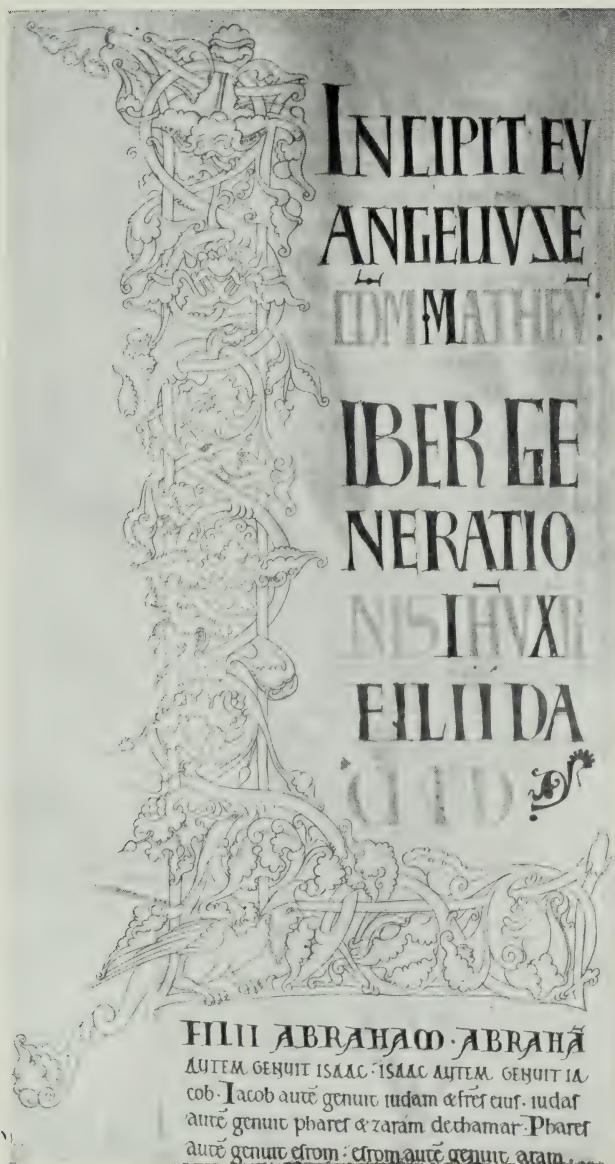




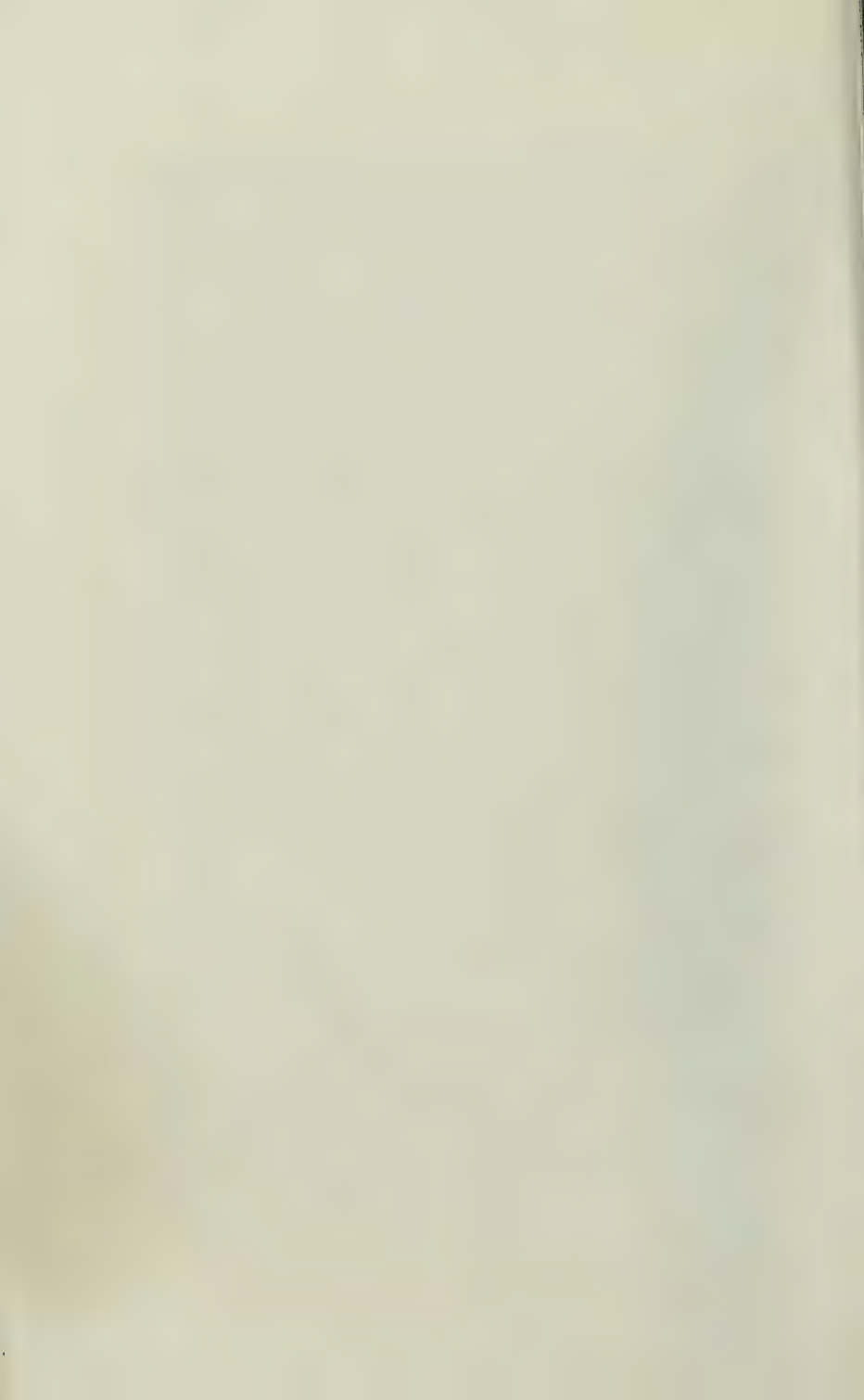
Altar card, attributed to Giulio Clovio. With a miniature of the Last Supper. *Italian, c. 1550.*

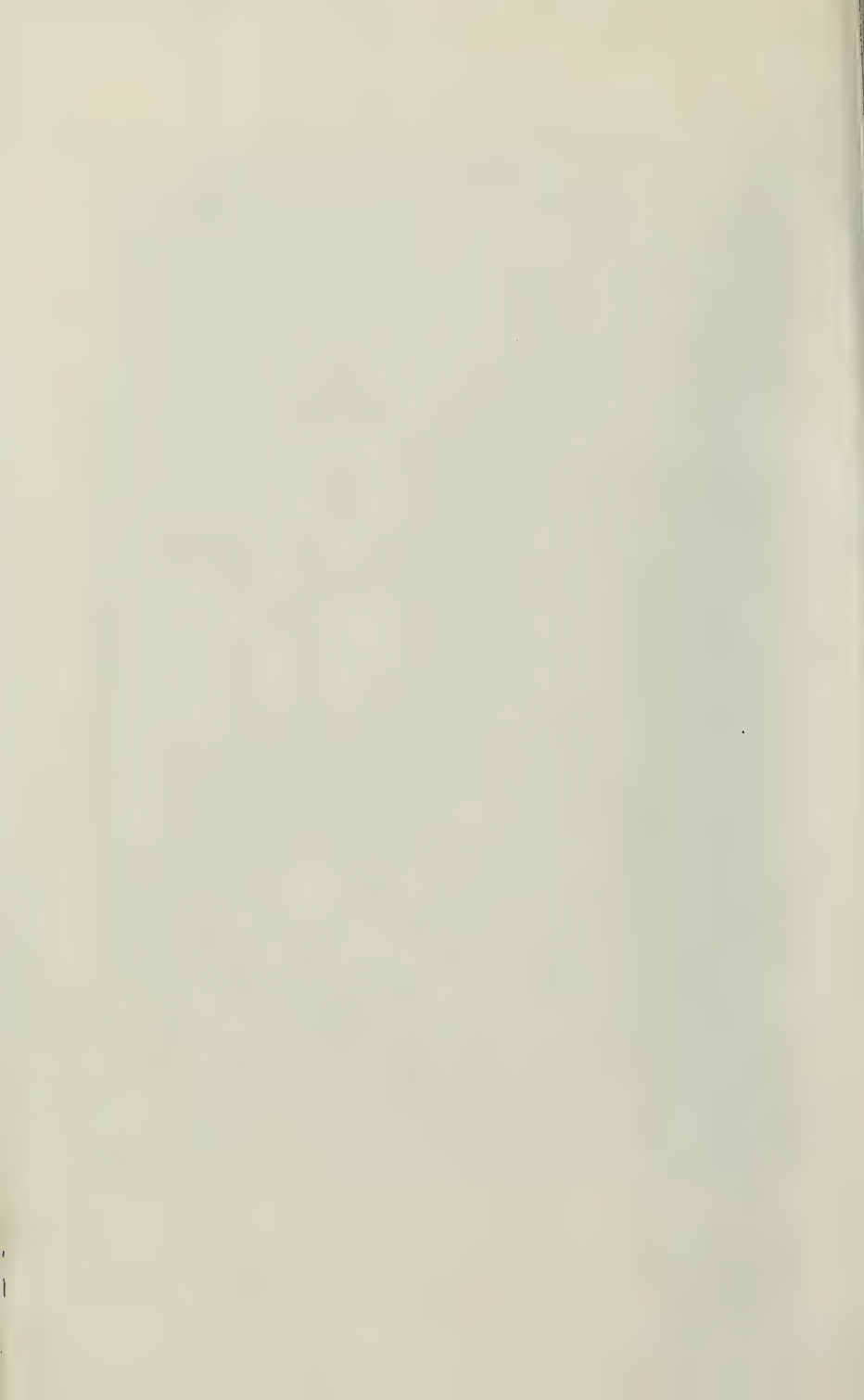


Initials B. in a Bible in the library of Winchester Cathedral, containing representations of : David delivering the lamb from the bear, and from the lion ; Christ casting out a devil, and his descent into Hell. *English, 12th cent. (2nd half).*



Unfinished initial L, in outline only, in a Bible in the library of Winchester Cathedral. English, 12th cent. (2nd half).





In adiutū dñi. Sabbō ad v's sup v's an



Benedictus. Si onae. h

cc. dies veniūt di

at dominus. et susci

bo dauid.

gerna iustum. et regnabit ier et sapiens erit. et

fra. et iudicium. et iust. nam in ter

ra. Et hoc est nomen quod vo cabūt e um

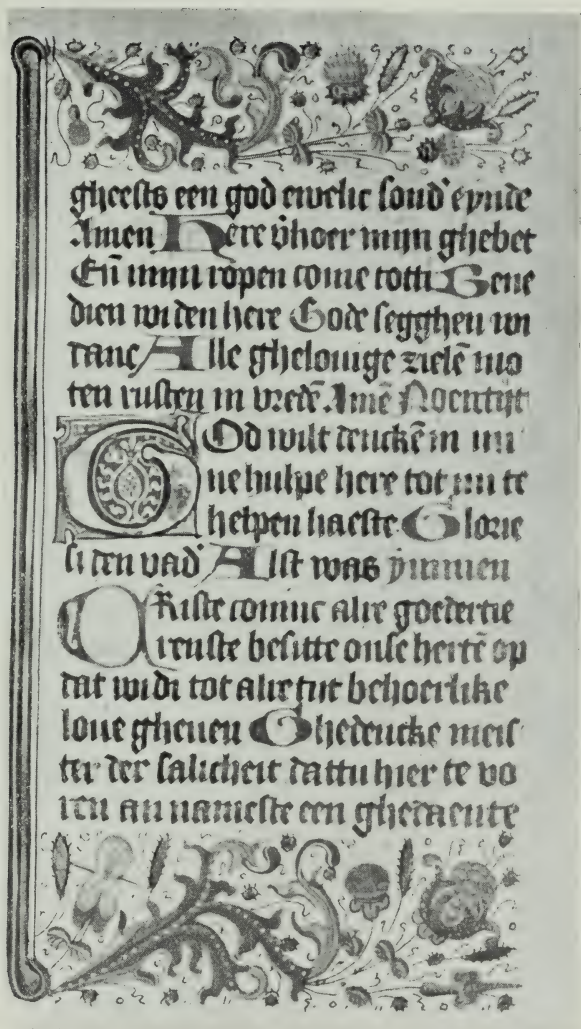
dominus iust. tis noster. v

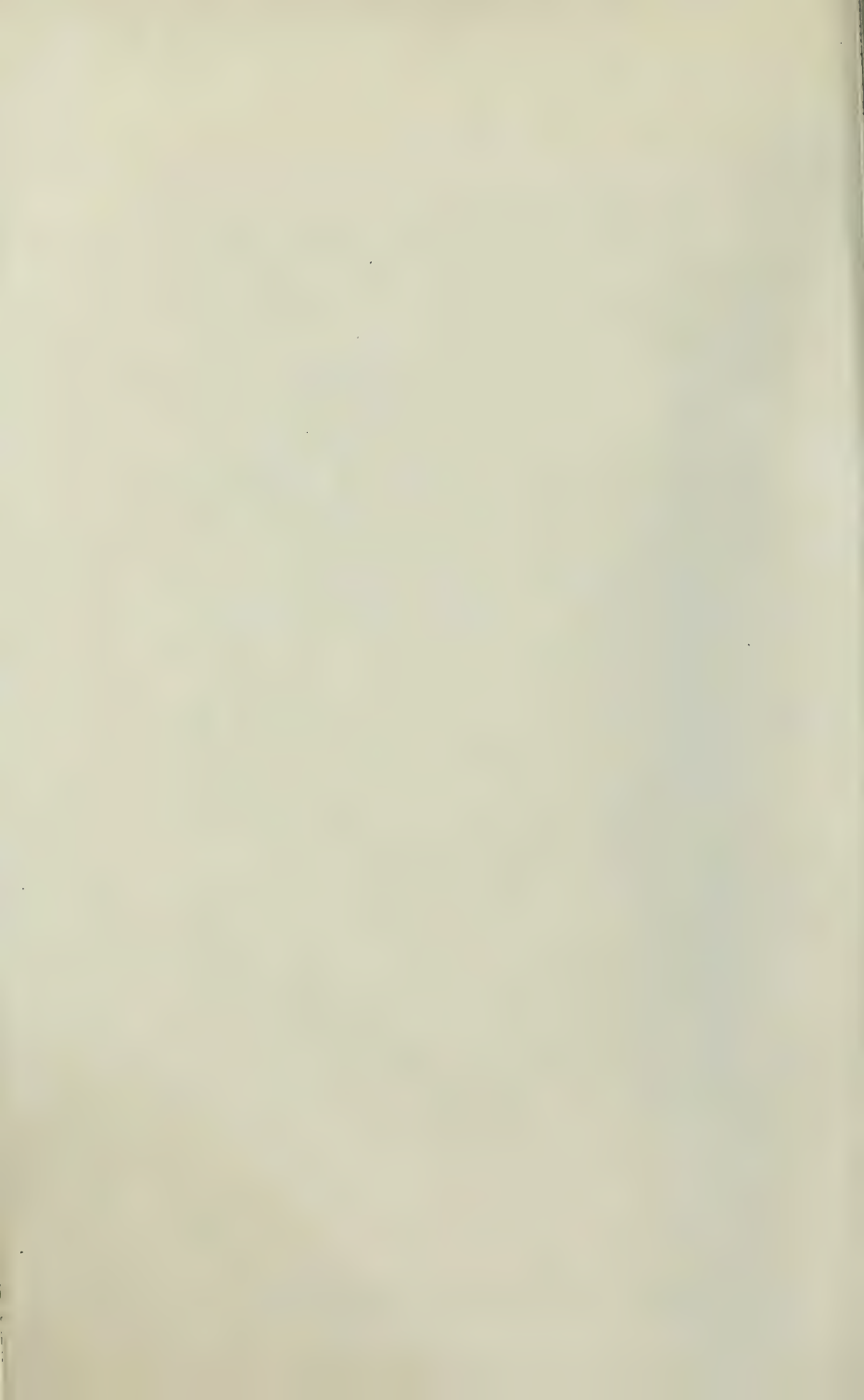
in diebus iust

saluabitur iuda. et israel habitabit. confiden

ter. Et hoc

lona. pam et fili. o et spiri

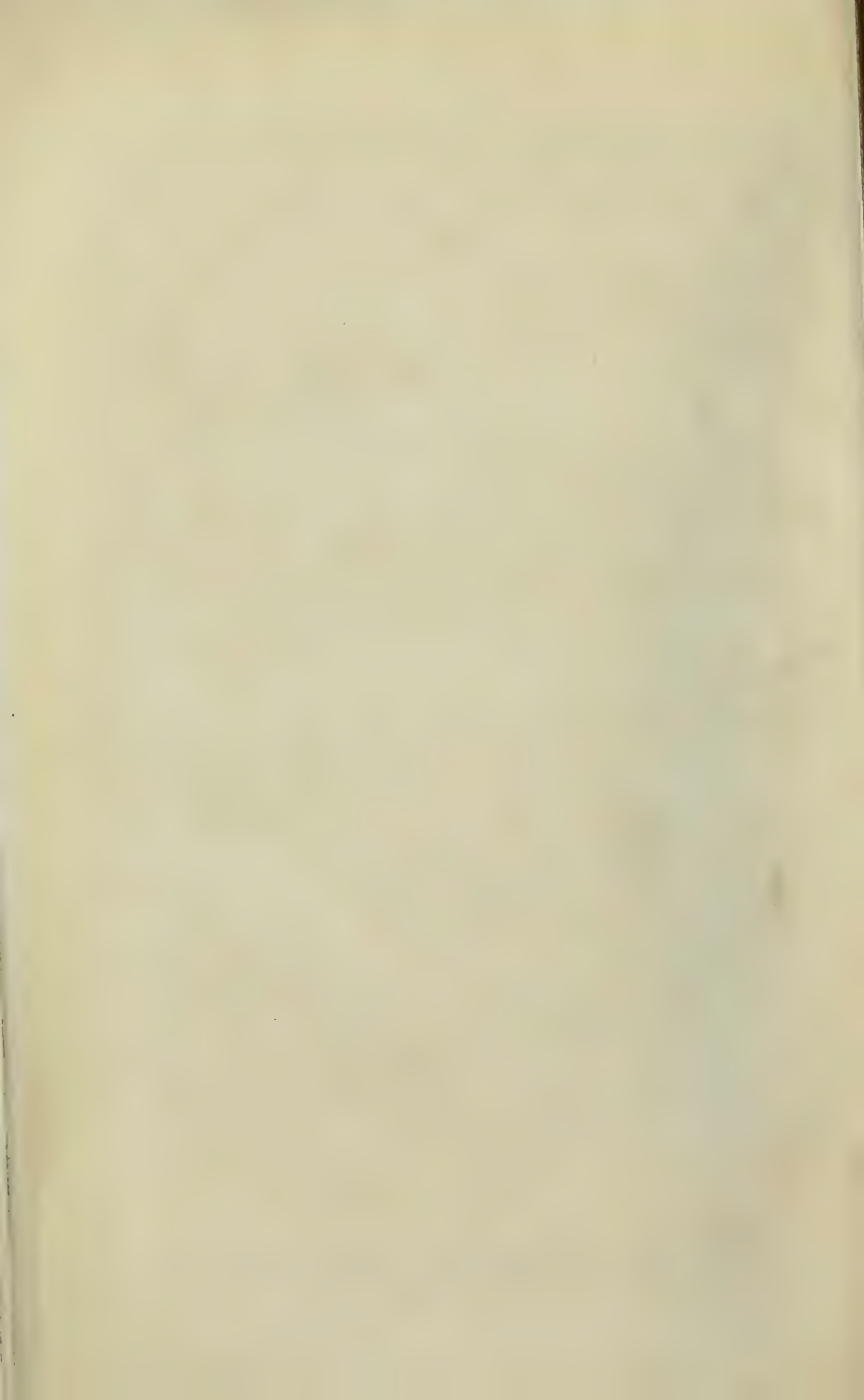




Acturus ne sim opereptum si a primordio urbis res populi romani
perscriptam: nec satis scio: nec si laam dicere aulam. Quippe q. cum
uicerem: tum uulgacum esse rem uideam: dū noui semper scriptores
aut in rebus certis allaturis aliquid se: aut scribendi arte ruden
uerustatem superaturos credunt. Vt cumq. erit: uulobit camē rerū
gestarum memorie principis terrarum populi: pro cuius parte: et
me ipsum consuluisse. Etsi in tanta scriptorum turba mea fama in

obscuro sit: nobilitate: ac magnitudine eorum: qui nomini officio meo: me edoler.
res est precreat: ut immensi operis: que supra septingentissimum annum reperatur:
et que ab exiguis profecta in multis creuerit: ut iam magnitudine labores sui: et le-
gentium pleriq. haud dubito: quin prime originis: et proxima originibus: munus
prebitura uoluptatis sint: festinantibus ad hec noua: quibus iam pridem preualens
populi uires seipse confaceat. Ego contra: hoc quoq. laboris premium petam: et me
a conspectu malorum: que nostra per tot annos uidet: et tanquam certe: dum prius
illa coram mente repetit: auertam. Omnis ex parte cure: que scribens animum: et si
fletere a uero: sollicitum tamen efficere possit. Que ante conditam condendamque
urbem: poetis magis decora fabulis: q. incorruptis rerum gestarum monumentis tra-
duntur: ea nec affirmare: nec refellere: in animo est. datur hec uenia antiquitati:
ut miscendo humana diuinis: primordia urbium augustiora faciat. Etsi cu populo
licet: et q. oris: consecrare originis suas: et ad deos referre: autores ea belligero: est
populo romano: ut cum suum conditorisq. sui parentem Martem possimum ferat:
tam hoc gentis humane patiantur: a quo animo: imperium patitur. Sed hec et
similia: ut cumq. animaduertat: aut estimat: et tunc: haud equidem in magno posita
discrimine. Ad illa mihi pro se q. q. acriter incedat: animi: que uita: q. in more: sunt:
per quos uiros: quibusq. arcibus: domi: militeq. et partum et actum imperium sit.
habente deinde paulatim disciplina: uelut dissidentis: primo more: sequatur animo.
Deinde ut magis magisq. lapsi sine: tum re ceperunt: preceptis: donec ad hec: et
quibus nec uita nostra: nec remedia pati possumus: putum est. Hec illud est: pugnare
in cogitatione rerum salubre: ac frugiferum: omni se exempli documenta in illis
posita monumento intueri. Inde tibi: tuq. respice: quod imitere: capias. Inde sedū
incepu: sedū exitu qd. uices. Ceterq. aut me amor negotii suscepi: falles: aut nullatq.
res publica nec maior: nec sanctior: nec bonis exemplis dior: fuit: nec in qua ciuitas:
tam leni auaricia: luxuriaq. immigrauerint: nec ubi tantū: ac tam diu: neque: et
aut parsimonia bonos fuerit: adeo quāto rerum minus: tanto minus capax: et
Nuper diuine auaricia: et abundantes uoluptates: deyderum per luxum: et
bidine: percunde: perdendūq. omnia inuexere. Sed querele ne tum qdem: et
cum forsitan: necessitate erunt: ab initio certe tanto ordinande rei: abint. cum boni
potius: omnibus uotisq. ac precationibus: deorum: deorumq. si ut potius nobis: queq.
mos esset: libentius inceptemus: ut oris: tantum operis: successus: prosperos darent.

M Am primū omniū satis constat Troia capta: i ceteros scintū esse Troiane.
d: iobul Enca Anthenoreq. et uictis iure hostia et q. pax reddenda.
Hic: semper autores fuerit: omne in bellis: et moribus: multis. Catul
deinde uatū Anthenorem cū multitudine entū qui se in ore et Paphlagonia





Hansen 10
11
55

Card
H42

Victoria and Albert Museum. South
Kensington. National Art Library.

Historical introduction to the
collection of illuminated
letters...

ND
•2900.
.V5

LIBRARY

Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies

113 ST. JOSEPH STREET
TORONTO, ONT., CANADA M5S 1J4

